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Head of Vienna Delegation Kashlev Interviewed

PM2201145590 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 19 Jan 90 Second Edition p 5

[Interview with Yu.B. Kashlev, ambassador for special assignments, by Yu. Subbotin: "One Year After Vienna. How the Meeting Participants Are Fulfilling Their Adopted Pledges"; date, place not given]

[Text] This is the first anniversary of the Vienna meeting of representatives of the CSCE participant states. The final document of the meeting was adopted by consensus on 15 January last year, and on 19 January the meeting ended officially after the foreign ministers of the 35 participant countries, who had come specially to the Austrian capital, had given speeches.

How are the accords reached in Vienna being realized? Yu.B. Kashlev, ambassador for special assignments, who was the leader of the Soviet delegation at last year's meeting, answers this and other questions for SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA.

[Kashlev] It may boldly be stated today that the Vienna accords are being realized successfully. The political dialogue in Europe has been activated still further. M.S. Gorbachev has had meetings with the leaders of Britain, the FRG, France, Finland, and Italy, and other important top-level contacts. Dozens of agreements have been signed in various areas of cooperation. The Soviet-U.S. summit meeting off the coast of Malta was to a considerable degree devoted to Europe's problems.

One of Vienna's most important achievements was the start of parallel talks there in the Austrian capital, in March 1989, among the 23 Warsaw Pact and NATO countries on conventional armed forces and arms in Europe and the talks among the 35 CSCE participant countries on military confidence-building measures. Both are taking place, on the whole, in a businesslike manner. There is a chance of concluding the first important agreements before the end of this year.

A new phenomenon after Vienna was the active dialogue of the USSR and East European countries with West European integrations and their parliamentary organizations, and even between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. The signing of an agreement between the USSR and the EC on economic and trade cooperation, for example, seems to be very important.

The proposal advanced by M.S. Gorbachev to hold a meeting of the leaders of the 35 states as early as this year, at which it would be possible to sign agreements on reducing armed forces and arms and on new confidence-building measures in the region from the Atlantic to the Urals and to conduct an in-depth discussion of paths of all-European cooperation at the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st, is receiving increasingly wide support. This meeting promises to be a major event of this year, which may usher in an entire "decade of Europe" in world politics.

[Subbotin] As is known, Yuriy Borisovich, in Vienna all the countries adopted a pledge to bring their domestic legislation into line with international legal norms, acts, and conventions. How successful is this process in our country, and what problems and difficulties do you see?

[Kashlev] Much has been done in this sphere, but still more has to be done. Multiple-candidate elections have been held in the USSR for the first time, and the truly democratic Congress of People's Deputies and USSR Supreme Soviet have been created. They are examining fundamental draft laws and changing the court system. The work on the draft laws on the press, on emigration from the USSR and immigration to our country, and on freedom of conscience is directly in keeping with the Vienna accords. The adoption of the corresponding laws is, unfortunately, being delayed.

[Subbotin] Nevertheless, it is also frequently possible to hear the opposite opinion. Many people are asking: Why are our legislators wasting so much of their worktime, and is it really so important to the majority of Soviet citizens to simplify the emigration and immigration procedures, for example?

[Kashlev] I, too, believe that the Supreme Soviet has more important things to do, for example, the laws on ownership and land; and it is tackling them. But still it seems to me that we must not say that too much time is being wasted on discussing the draft laws that I mentioned.

It is not the West that needs the Law on the Press, for example. We need it. This is a fundamental question. It is a law that is just as important for our democratization as the Law on Ownership is for the economy.

[Subbotin] There is a fear among journalists that such a law could limit the freedom of the press or, rather, freedom to criticize. What is your attitude to this?

[Kashlev] There are one or two points in the draft law which give rise to certain doubts. The hidden form of censorship, in particular. I mean the point that a founder or publisher can virtually censor his own organ. But this is so all over the world. At the same time the draft law clearly states that censorship is prohibited in the USSR, just as a monopoly on news media is prohibited. Of course, it is necessary to avoid such things as the threat of a R50,000 fine. This must be reedited. But the law's starting positions are very progressive.

We also need the Law on Freedom of Conscience. For we have several tens of millions of believers and a multitude of unresolved problems. Or the Law on Citizens Social Organizations. There is undoubtedly an urgent need for it. I would put the Law on Emigration and Immigration in the last place. It really does concern a narrow stratum of the Soviet people. But when we speak of it, we most frequently mean people who leave once and for all. Yet it is a question of temporary visits. And this concerns quite a lot of people.

Moreover, as is known, the West links this law with certain economic questions. This is, of course, an incorrect position: First you rectify your legislation, and afterward we will revise our restrictions on trade with you... But this is the reality.

[Subbotin] In this connection does it not seem to you that in the sphere of human rights we have somehow gotten accustomed to the role of defenders? The West has criticized and is continuing to criticize us, and our self-criticism has reached unprecedented heights. But are those who assess us on our behavior really so irreproachable?

[Kashlev] My position is unequivocal: We need a full-blooded human rights committee in the Supreme Soviet. And it must examine the way human rights are observed not only in our country but also by our partners abroad. This sphere must not be turned into a one-way street. For rights have been and are being flouted in the West. It is sufficient to recall, for example, the "Guildford Four" or the "Birmingham Six." And Panama? Our Supreme Soviet hardly reacts to that, whereas U.S. congressmen react constantly to our reality: They send petitions and delegations and write in the press.

The labor collective of the USSR Foreign Ministry has nominated me as a candidate people's deputy of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] for Moscow's Kiyevskiy Territorial Okrug. If I am elected, the first question I would raise would be a question about the creation of a Human Rights Committee in the RSFSR Supreme Soviet.

Chernyshev on Progress at Geneva Arms Talks

LD2301194890 Moscow TASS in English 1919 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 23 TASS—By TASS Military Writer Vladimir Chernyshev:

Another step towards coordinating measures of verification of the future agreement on 50 per cent cuts in strategic offensive arms was taken at the Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space arms in Geneva on Monday.

The sides have reached agreement on the demonstration of procedures of verification (on-site inspections) of MIRV'ed warheads on ballistic missiles.

Each of the sides will demonstrate the procedure which, in its opinion make it possible to verify that the number of warheads on missiles does not exceed the stated number.

This step might seem insignificant. Just one technical detail has been coordinated. Coordination and implementation of a whole range of verification measures make for the earlier conclusion and subsequent ratification of the treaty.

Only if the entire system of verification guarantees confidence that the partners observe all the negotiated provisions can the implementation of the treaty be expected.

It should be noted that the arrangement on demonstrations of procedures of inspection of warheads has been formulated in accordance with the agreement on tentative measures of verification and stability signed by Eduard Shevardnadze and James Baker in Wyoming in September 1989.

These measures should be implemented even before the treaty on 50 per cent cuts in strategic offensive arms is signed.

Several steps have already been agreed upon in a preliminary way. Notification of major strategic exercises and the provision by each of the sides of a heavy bomber of a similar type carrying cruise missiles for verification trials.

Verification always posed problems at the negotiations. The sides often went no further than deliberations about the possibility of using some or other methods of verification. All this complicated the working out of a mutually acceptable approach to verification.

Gennadiy Gerasimov 23 Jan Briefing Reported

Baku Ship Blockade

LD2301144290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1418 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, 23 Jan (TASS)—Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, said at a briefing here today that two ships which were to take the families of servicemen out of the Azerbaijani capital were blockaded at the port of Baku on Monday. Those involved in the blockade demanded permission to search the vessels for the bodies of people who died during the recent events in Azerbaijan. They were given the chance to do so, said the Soviet diplomat, stressing that "nothing, however, was found in the holds."

The representative of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs also said that he had no official confirmation of reports "in several organs of the press regarding the transfer of arms from Iran to Azerbaijan."

Concern at Postponing Talks

LD2301151990 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1427 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, 23 Jan (TASS)—The Soviet side has received with concern the U.S. State Department announcement of its decision to defer further negotiations on limitation of nuclear tests until the two treaties currently being discussed between Moscow and Washington have been ratified by the Senate. Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs Information Directorate, stated this at a briefing today.

In this regard, he recalled the joint Soviet-U.S. statement of September 1987. This envisions that during the course of these negotiations the sides will, as the first step, agree on effective verification [kontrol] measures, which will make it possible to ratify the Soviet-U.S. 1974 Treaty on the Limitation of Underground Nuclear Weapons Tests and the 1976 Treaty on Underground Nuclear Explosions for Peaceful Purposes; and that the sides will start further coordinating interim limitations on nuclear tests, on the way to their complete cessation, as a part of the disarmament process.

After the U.S. State Department announcement, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman said, a new situation is being created at the Soviet-U.S. negotiations on nuclear tests. "We consider it illegal to try and change the basis of these full-scale stage-by-stage negotiations. Such attempts could have the most negative effect on these negotiations, in the successful completion of which both sides have expressed their interest," Gennadiy Gerasimov stressed.

Arms Supplies to El Salvador

LD2301161390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1525 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, 23 Jan (TASS)—From the Soviet point of view, the question of deliveries of weapons to the Government of El Salvador takes on, in present conditions, a particular significance. This was announced today at a briefing by Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs information directorate, who reported the debates opening in the U.S. Congress on giving U.S. military aid to that country.

In recent times, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman noted, certain advances have been outlined in the matter of renewing dialogue between the opposing sides in El Salvador. However, the opponents of national reconciliation in that country are trying to prevent a constructive dialogue between the government and the rebels and are counting on the continuation of bloodshed. Salvadoran President Alfonso Cristian confirmed the involvement of troops in the murder of priests. A new victim of the terror is Hector Oqueli, executive secretary of the Socialist International Committee on the Problems of the Countries of Latin America and the Caribbean Basin and one of the leaders of the National Revolutionary Movement Party, said Gennadiy Gerasimov.

The leadership of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front, the Soviet diplomat noted, has stated its decision to stop conducting further combat operations if the United States halts its military aid to the ruling regime.

In these conditions, Gerasimov stressed, the continuation of arms supplies to the Salvadoran Army in fact plays into the hands of those who blatantly violate human rights and does not promote the strengthening of the positions of those who champion dialogue and national reconciliation in El Salvador. "All of that may become a serious obstacle in the way toward a peaceful settlement in that country and Central America in general", he said.

Pentagon Opposition to Space Program

LD2301234590 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1532 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, 23 Jan (TASS)—On the threshold of a discussion by the U.S. National Space Council of issues on the organization of international space flights—with the participation of the USSR, the European Space Agency, and Japan—the Pentagon has declared its intention to block the USSR's participation in the projects. Having reported on this at a briefing today, Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, said that this is being done under the pretext that such participation might lead to a "leak of technology."

Scholars in the United States and other countries, the Soviet diplomat noted, hold a different opinion, which seems to be more sensible. It consists of the following:

That international cooperation will permit spending on work of this type to be reduced, superfluous parallelism avoided, and a great step forward taken in the business of the assimilation of space.

According to the Soviet representative, it seems as if the stereotypes of the "Cold War" are manifesting themselves in the Pentagon's declaration.

U.S. Nuclear Test Talks Delayed

LD2301203590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] A routine briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists was held today at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center on current matters of international policy. Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, spoke at the briefing. He commented in particular on the State Department pronouncement on the U.S. decision to postpone further talks on limiting nuclear tests.

[Begin Gerasimov recording] This statement has been met in Moscow with great concern. It contradicts existing accords. After all, we agreed with the Americans to hold talks on ending nuclear tests by stages. One of the stages is the elaboration of measures to monitor [proverka] the so-called threshold treaties, the ratification, and then, without any intervals, the continuation of the talks. Here, however, the United States is speaking of a pause, an interval.

I want to recall that there was a Soviet-U.S. statement on this topic adopted in September 1987. It envisages, I quote: In the course of these talks, the sides will agree, as a first step, on effective verification measures [mery kontrolya], which will make it possible to ratify the 1974 Soviet-U.S. treaty on limiting underground nuclear weapons tests and the 1976 treaty on underground explosions for peaceful purposes, and will proceed to agree on further interim limitations on nuclear tests en route to the ultimate goal, the complete ending of nuclear tests.

After the statement by the U.S. State Department, a new situation in the matter of the Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear tests has been created.

We consider it wrong to attempt to change the foundations of these full-scale, stage-by-stage talks as the United States now is seeking to do. These attempts may reflect on these talks in the most negative manner. [end recording]

Norway's SS-21, Warheads Allegation

LD2301171790 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1548 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, 23 Jan (TASS)—At a briefing today, Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, described a statement by Lieutenant General Dagfinn Danielsen, commander of the Armed Forces of northern Norway which was distributed on Monday by REUTERS, as "not corresponding to reality." That agency reported the Norwegian general as stating that Soviet "SS-21" remained on the Kola Peninsula and could be fitted with nuclear warheads.

In this connection, the diplomat read out an announcement by the USSR Defense Ministry saying, in particular, that in no point on Soviet territory were there tactical nuclear charges capable of reaching the countries of northern Europe.

Vorontsov-Waldegrave Talks

LD2301181790 Moscow TASS in English 1759 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 23 TASS—A comparison of positions the two countries are taking as regards international and bilateral affairs illustrate the considerable constructive potential of the Soviet-British dialogue, Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov told a briefing here today.

He was commenting on the Soviet-British political consultations that began in Moscow on Monday. The British side is represented by Minister of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs William Waldegrave, the Soviet by First Deputy Foreign Minsiter Yuliy Vorontsov.

The Soviet spokesman said the talks touched upon regional problems among other things.

In discussing bilateral relations, Gerasimov said, the sides noted that these relations were now in a phase of dynamic development and the best in the whole history of their existence.

The Soviet spokesman said the British minister was leaving for Kiev on Tuesday to familiarise himself with preparations for the days of Britain festival. The festival is scheduled to open on June 7. Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher is expected to attend the opening.

United States & Canada

U.S. Attitude to Azerbaijan Events Viewed

LD2301134690 Moscow World Service in English 0000 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] [Announcer] Statements by U.S. officials suggest that the Administration's attitude to the Soviet Government's measures for normalizing the situation in Azerbaijan and Armenia is one of understanding. Commentary on Washington's reaction to the developments there by Vladislav Kozyakov of our staff:

On the government measures a White House official is quoted as saying that the maintenance of law and order and protection of its citizens was the duty of any government. For his part a State Department spokesman said: We understand the need to establish order where both Armenians and Azerbaijanis are being killed.

Official statements in Washington also contain a call for restraint in the use of force. Significantly, Moscow-declared measures are aimed exclusively at preventing further violence in the intercommunal conflict in Azerbaijan and Armenia in an effort to restore law and order there.

President Gorbachev, announcing the measures in a televised address to the nation on Saturday, said it was the state's duty to bring back peace and security in Azerbaijan and Armenia to help them develop freely and democratically and set up normal conditions for work and life there.

In the past 2 years the government worked hard to help reach a negotiated settlement to the ethnic conflict there. Even after the recent flare-up of violence leading to a state of emergency being introduced in Nagorno-Karabakh and in parts of Azerbaijan and Armenia government troops sent there refrained from using weapons. Likewise, troops showed restraint in the face of terrorist attacks in Baku, the capital of the southern republic of Azerbaijan. And (?that) was only last Wednesday troops came under attacks by Azeri militants that they were ordered to open fire.

Deputy Defense Minister General Valentin Varennikov said that the troops opened fire only in defense of strategic sites and their own lives: They fired only on those who were threatening them.

U.S. and Western analysts say Soviet perestroyka and the Soviet administration led by President Gorbachev are being put to a test by developments in Armenia and Azerbaijan, and so they are. But they also appear to be a test of political leaders in the U.S. and elsewhere who repeatedly voiced support for Soviet reforms. The latest development is just a case where understanding is needed for the action by the Soviet Government aimed to defend the country's constitution and to enforce law and order.

Unlike in the past, official statements in Washington today appear to reflect a sound approach, something that also caught the eye of experts inside the U.S. itself. Michael Mandelbaum, an expert on East-West relations at the Council of Foreign Relations, said that in the past we tended to adopt the position that anything and everything they, the Soviets, did was wrong and aggressive. Now this is no longer a merely repressive government and its use of force can and is being used in ways that we regard as legitimate.

U.S. Decides To Review Cocom Restrictions

LD2301133590 Moscow TASS in English 1227 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 23 TASS—By TASS political news analyst Albert Balebanov:

The U.S. National Security Council has decided to review the lists of commodities, banned by the Coordinating Committee on [Multilateral] Export Controls (Cocom), White House Press Secretary Marlin Fitzwater said on Monday.

The National Security Council favoured "a new approach to Cocom" in order to consolidate the protection of really strategic commodities and technologies and promote a faster revision of the existing Cocom controls.

The pronouncements made by an official White House spokesman provide evidence that the United States is not yet ready to abandon the discriminatory practices in international trade. On the other hand, there is no doubt that the administration's step is a forced one. It was taken under strong pressure from U.S. West European allies, disappointed with the White House's non-constructive stand. They are seeking unhindred business relationships with East European countries.

The British GUARDIAN newspaper admits that one sees in Washington's actions a striving to avoid an imminent split with its allies.

The Council's decision undoubtedly illustrates the Washington administration's desire to consider changing political and military realities. Even "hawks" in the West do not now dare to spread the myth of a "Soviet threat". And since it is non-existent, there is no sense in the Cocom restrictions on trade with socialist countries, which were introduced as a response to the "threat from the East".

Washington plans to lift the ban on the sale of some types of computers, communication means and machine-tools, but... "only for those East European countries, the governments of which are no longer under Communist Party control".

According to the American press, the Soviet Union is not among the countries to be covered by the U.S. decision. Moreover, the White House intends to demand guarantees from Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and the

German Democratic Republic that if they are supplied with Western technology, it will not fall in to the USSR's hands.

This illustrate the administration's desire to separate the Soviet Union from its Warsaw Treaty allies, THE WASHINGTON POST believes.

Taking the decision to liberalise Cocom controls, the United States puruses its aims, in the first place. To a certain extent, it meets the Soviet Union's interests, whether the United States wants that or not, since it will help solve economic problems facing East European countries, specifically in saturating the market with commodities. That the Council-planned measures do not involve the USSR does not promote either the development of bilateral relations or Soviet perestroyka. But both meet the long-term strategic interests of the West as a whole, and the United States in particular.

VOA Claim of Political Prisoner Denied

PM2301160990 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 20 Jan 90 p 4

[A. Demidenko article under "Radio Intercept" rubric: "Agent of His Own Volition"]

[Text] **Official announcements have stated that there are no more political prisoners in our country. Nonetheless, the U.S. Administration periodically presents us with lists of "prisoners of conscience." Ruslan Ketenchiyev constantly appears on these lists. But who is he?**

Our life is changing rapidly—we are already accustomed to glasnost. Nobody is surprised by the pluralism of opinions in our mass media. But glasnost also has another, maybe even more important, aspect. This is the right and real opportunity to obtain objective information on any problems perturbing people. Naturally, there are state and military secrets, but strict regulations in this sphere limit broader interpretations, protect only what is really necessary, and open up more and more previously closed zones.

Nowadays people in the West and even in our own country declare that, despite the successes of democratization, there are supposedly political prisoners in the Soviet Union as before. Ruslan Ketenchiyev is stubbornly identified as one of them. Here is what VOA had to say about him: "...he was arrested 27 August 1982 after attempts to get in touch with the U.S. Embassy to find out what he should do to obtain permission to enter the United States. But he fell into a KGB trap and was accused of betraying the motherland although, even if he had wished to, he could not have betrayed anything to the Americans since he had no secrets in his possession." Last May the same radio station broadcast: "...camp No. 35 was visited by by a U.S. delegation including a staffer of the U.S. Helsinki Group. Its report contains a demand to open the cases of political prisoners, and of Ruslan Ketenchiyev in particular."

Could this be a throwback to 1937? An innocent man in prison? To objectively investigate this, we studied the criminal case against Ketenchiyev, which was conducted by the USSR KGB Investigations Department, and the materials of the court hearings held in February 1983 before the Moscow Military District Tribunal.

So, who is Ketenchiyev? The 24-year-old young man, a native of Upper Kabardino-Balkaria, was in Moscow in August 1982. Having finished his Army service, he first worked as a quota worker in the Mosstroy Machine Operations Administration, then resigned and became what is known as a person without fixed employment. That was when he decided to became a CIA agent. Here is what Ketenchiyev himself said during the investigation: "The social and state system under which I was to live was a matter of indifference to me, whether in the USSR or the United States, as long as society gave me an opportunity to satisfy my requirements and needs.... This is why I decided to establish criminal relations with staffers of the U.S. special services."

Unfortunately, these were no empty words, nor a self-incriminating confession. He acted. He systematically assembled secret information which he had come across while serving in the Army and tried to gather information which might be of interest to the U.S. intelligence service in conversations with his acquaintances. He persistently sought ways to establish clandestine links with U.S. Embassy staffers and Western correspondents who, in his opinion, worked for the CIA.

Without revealing all the professional secrets of Soviet counterintelligence, let us just say that Ketenchiyev's dangerous illegal actions were terminated. He was arrested strictly according to Soviet law. The following statement, addressed to the CIA and written in his own hand, was confiscated from him at the time of his detention: "I, Ruslan Khadzhiyevich Ketenchiyev, offer the U.S. Government my assistance in intelligence activity against the USSR, as well as military information about the Soviet Union which is in my possession. I have the following to report:..."

Let us turn back to the documents. According to the official conclusion of experts from the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, "the information compiled by Ketenchiyev for the U.S. intelligence service concerning the location and purpose of an especially important facility is top secret and constitutes a state secret, while the data on military units constitute a military secret." I would like to mention that, in the specialists' opinion, this information has lost none of its importance even now, at a period of growing openness and mutual exchanges of information in the military sphere.

But what about VOA and the statement that "he had no secrets in his possession"?

There is no doubt that Ketenchiyev had been on his way to meet a U.S. intelligence officer and certainly not for the purpose of inquiring about U.S. entry rules. He had

thoroughly prepared for that meeting. Here is his testimony: "Having decided to establish links with the U.S. intelligence service, in preparation for my first meeting with an intelligence service staffer, I wrote my surname, given name, and patronymic, my address, and my telephone number on the reverse of my photograph. I intended to hand this photograph to the American."

But that was not all. It was established during the investigation that in January 1981 Ketenchiyev acquired a large quantity of ammunition for rifled firearms from private individuals in the city of Nalchik and stored it in his parents' apartment until his arrest. He said about this, without batting an eyelid: "I've always wanted to have weapons."

At the military tribunal sittings, Ketenchiyev fully admitted his guilt in attempting to betray the motherland by way of espionage and in illegally acquiring and possessing live ammunition, and declared his repentance. It is hard to say whether that was sincere. As a matter of fact, neither Ketenchiyev himself nor his defense attorney made any complaints about the course of the investigation and trial.

Later on, however, when already in the camp, he started talking about suffering for his beliefs, for the fact that he supposedly wanted nothing but to leave for the United States. It is well known that treason has always been considered the gravest of all crimes by mountain peoples, and that was precisely what Ketenchiyev had done. He was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment not for his political views and his intention to emigrate, but for specific and dangerous criminal actions for which people are held strictly accountable under the law in any civilized country, including of course the United States. It must be emphasized that, when sentence was passed, it was taken into account that law enforcement organs had managed to prevent the transmission of important secrets to a foreign intelligence service, otherwise the sentence could have been harsher.

Maybe this story has been presented somewhat matter-of-factly, without any vivid thriller elements. But we wished to be objective and to arrive at the truth without excessive emotions. The truth is this:

Attempts are being made to make a "political prisoner" out of the would-be spy Ketenchiyev. He is no such thing. This is a fact which neither the CIA, nor the VOA, nor Ketenchiyev himself is in a position to deny.

China

Shevardnadze, Reporters' Comments on China Cited

OW2301174690 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Excerpt] We now broadcast from the Soviet press on China, which discusses the development of cooperation between the Soviet Union and China.

The ARGUMENTS AND FACTS weekly has reported on a Soviet reporter's interview with Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze on the Soviet-Chinese relations at present.

Shevardnadze said: I think we will greatly push forward the relations between the Soviet Union and the PRC this year. This is good for both sides. The PRC's premier will visit the Soviet Union; other exchanges of visits will also take place between the two sides. The economic prospects are also good. Another very important thing is that the Soviet-Chinese talks on reducing armed forces along the border and on measures of promoting trust are now underway.

In the view of Shevardnadze, the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations is the greatest achievement of the world at present.

GLOBAL ECHO, a famous political weekly in the Soviet Union, carried an article by Soviet reporters (Terivosheyev) and (Bisenev) on their visits to China. The Soviet reporters said that from what they observed, the Chinese leadership seemed to have failed to convince the people that the use of troops in the June incident in Beijing was inevitable.

They wrote: Although most people we met agreed that widespread turmoil was extremely dangerous to the state, many of them held that other measures could have been taken to resolve the problem.

In the view of these two Soviet reporters, although Beijing now looks normal on the surface, one can sense a certain feeling of tension. Intellectuals and young people who talked to them all admitted that the June incident had dispirited and struck fear in them, resulting in a lack of confidence in their future.

The Soviet reporters wrote: Even in remote mountainous villages, we also noticed that the ordinary people could not understand the things that happened, or were even indifferent toward those events. [passage omitted]

Northeast Asia

Mongolian Party Stance on Democratic Union Viewed

PM2301131390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 3

[Dispatch by own correspondent A. Nabatchikov: "Party Proposes Dialogue"]

[Text] Ulaanbaatar—"Acquiring High Political Standards"—This is the headline under which the newspaper UNEN published an explanation of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party's [MPRP] stance vis-a-vis the Mongolian Democratic Union [MDU], along with its own commentary, clarifying and concretizing the main points of this stance.

In November 1989, UNEN writes, a group of young members of the Mongolian intelligentsia began asking

various bodies to "promote the cause of implementing party policy on perestroyka." The draft "Basic Principles of an MDU Program" were elaborated, together with some other documents.

At the same time, vigorous explanatory and agitation work was being carried out in various organizations and institutions. The initiators of the MDU started to distribute leaflets, paste up posters describing their movement, and held rallies in streets and squares. One of them saw the announcement of the formation of a coordinating committee, comprising several members of the Ulaanbaatar intelligentsia, mainly people under 35....

Judging by their original statements and actions, they were guided by a common desire to support perestroyka, launch a determined struggle against negative phenomena, and promote the process of democratic transformations in the country. But it soon became clear that some members of the MDU, under cover of slogans and declarations about aiding perestroyka, were not averse to giving their activities a direction that does not accord with the present system of people's power and the ideals of building a socialist society.

At their rallies they have been making public attacks on party and state leaders, distorting the essential nature of MPRP policy and its leading role in society, and putting pressure on the party. In their recent appeals they have gone even further, demanding a "radical change of social system." At the same time, the union has pronounced itself an "autonomous political force" which intends to "become a party competing with the MPRP" in the future.

The public finds all this bewildering, UNEN notes, and it is understandably alarmed. People are wondering: How is this movement, which only recently promised to back the party's perestroyka policy, but is now attacking it, going to develop, and where is it going to go? The party believes there is a need to carry out a serious analysis of the situation, ascertain the correspondences and the differences with regard to the MDU platform, and, in so doing, display political restraint and self-control in its assessments and conclusions. A considerable number of MDU demands, UNEN goes on to say, does not altogether take account of the distinctive nature and historic features of the development of Mongolian society and the complexity of the period it is going through at the moment and of the situation in the country, and is tending to directly copy and imitate the events taking place in the countries of East Europe.

Many MDU demands concerning the acceleration of perestroyka and the struggle to limit privileges and reduce the managerial apparatus essentially correspond to measures being taken by the party and state. The party is prepared to work out a joint position on these matters with the union on the basis of mutual understanding. Demonstrations and rallies alone will will not solve the problems that have been building up for many years in society—problems that worry everyone. The main thing here is to conduct a joint search, to listen to one another, and to tackle these problems together.

The party has already taken a step in that direction. But what position will the informals adopt on this question? Will they strengthen the bridges of cooperation, or concentrate their efforts on destruction?

Mongolian Democratic Union Calls for Reform

PM2301160390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent A. Nabatchikov report: "From Confrontation to Dialogue"]

[Text] Ulaanbaatar—On Sunday [21 January], the Mongolian Democratic Union (MDU) held its latest rally in the central square of the Mongolian capital in the immediate vicinity of the D. Suhe-Baatar Mausoleum, named for the founder of the Mongolian state, and Government House. At the beginning of the rally, those assembled honored V.I. Lenin's memory with a minute's silence.

"We have not chosen this site by accident," F. Zorig [name as transliterated], a postgraduate student at the state university and the Union's general coordinator, said. "We regard this square as the main symbol of the Mongolian people's revolution, and the perestroyka and renewal which we are advocating in our country as a continuation of the processes of purification of genuine socialism from the deformations which have engulfed the entire socialist world, and as a development of the revolutionary traditions bequeathed to us by Suhe-Baatar."

Characteristically, the latest MDU rally took place precisely here despite a provisional order, published earlier, of the city authorities banning this kind of unauthorized measure which hampers the city's normal life. Despite this, law-enforcement organs did not put up any resistance to the rally participants.

Demands for radical reforms, which have by now become traditional, rang out at the rally. However, on this occasion there were more restrained and contained calls for effective dialogue with the authorities. For the first time, the existence in the country of another informal organization, the Movement for Democratic Socialism, was announced at this rally. According to some reports, this group of informals unites in its ranks the most extreme nationalist and anti-Soviet elements.

Never before at events of this kind had there been so many Western journalists. The rally was watched by correspondents of leading U.S., Canadian, British, French, and FRG news agencies who had arrived in Mongolia from China as tourists. The rally organizers subsequently gave a special news conference for them.

The numerous remarks and statements made by the leaders of the MDU in recent days make it possible to single out three main groups of questions on which its activities are centered—radical restructuring of the Stalinist bureaucratic system, which, according to their

opinion, was created in the country during the thirties and functions to this day; transition to a multiparty system and the renunciation by all parties of any special right to a leading role, and the establishment of full democracy; the inclusion of the Mongolian People's Republic in the international market mechanism, and the rebuilding of the genuine and truthful history of the fatherland.

The discussion participants representing the MDU reaffirmed that they intend to strictly observe state laws in their activities and are opposed to the solution of controversial questions by means of strikes and showdowns. However, they let it be clearly known that the dialogue which has been initiated with the party does not mean a compromise on questions which the MDU regards as fundamental. It was emphasized that the movement is not pursuing the elimination of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party [MPRP] and a seizure of power, that it is not struggling against the party as such, only against the group of people in its leadership who have deformed the party, monopolized state power, and are hampering the intensive development of perestroyka.

According to the latest reports published in the Mongolian central press, the MPRP Central Committee Politburo, taking account of Communists' critical proposals at the latest, the Seventh, Central Committee Plenum, has decided to hand over a special clinic and place it under the direct jurisdiction of the Mongolian Ministry of Health and to put a government hotel complex at the disposal of the Central Council of Mongolian Trade Unions. It has also been decided to close down a special food shop and reduce the number of cars in officials' private use.

A representative of the MDU told journalists that it is planned to hold a "roundtable" in the near future with the participation of all the country's political forces on the question of the further development of the state and the joint elaboration of a draft of the sociopolitical orientation of the Mongolian People's Republic.

Japan's Nakayama on European Support for Gorbachev

PM2301135190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Unattributed report under rubric "TASS, REUTER, UPI Report": "Interview With Japan's Foreign Minister"]

[Text] Japan's Foreign Minister Nakayama gave an interview to NHK radio and television corporation. In the minister's words, during his recent tour of several European countries, he was convinced of the strong feelings there in support of M.S. Gorbachev's political course. It is believed that the situation in the USSR could be complicated further still, but there is no real alternative to perestroyka. Nakayama emphasized that Japan is ready to play an active part in the cause of democratization and liberalization in East European countries.

DPRK Calls for Removal of 'Korean Wall'

PM2301152990 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 21 Jan 90 p 3

[Our correspondent A. Platkovskiy dispatch: "How To Break Down Wall"]

[Text] Pyongyang—In the past few weeks, the attention of millions of DPRK inhabitants has been riveted on something that has been called the "nation's disgrace." Every day, newspapers are printing photographs and the television is showing parts of a mighty structure—a reinforced concrete wall that stretches for many kilometers. It towers over the southern zone of the military demarcation line, which breaks the Korean peninsula from east to west into two parts.

A powerful wave of indignation swept the DPRK regarding the barrier, set up by the South Korean authorities, after President Kim Il-song, in his New Year speech to the people, demanded that the wall be destroyed and "resolute measures be taken for the country's salvation and unification." "It is vital for the workers, peasants, students, politicians, figures from the economic sphere, cultural workers, believers, and other representatives of various strata of the population in the North and the South to be able to maintain contacts without restrictions, engage in their activities without any discriminatory conditions, and be able to visit each other freely."

Pyongyang's new initiative was apparently inspired by the funeral of the "Berlin Wall" which took place amid the wild delight of people on both sides. Such a fate does not seem likely to threaten the "Korean Wall" for the time being. There are things that are stronger than concrete.

The wall appeared at the end of the 1970's. Seoul spared no forces or resources in erecting this "marvel" of fortification craftsmanship. The dimensions are impressive. Around 800,000 tons of concrete and 200,000 tons of iron were used in the main body of the wall, and in some parts it reaches 8 meters in height and 19 in thickness. Its constructors believed that a reliable barrier would thus be put up against "the North's subversive intrigues." The South was seriously alarmed by Pyongyang's declaration of a policy toward an "accelerated preparation for a South Korean revolution and the accelerated unification of the motherland." The situation in the demarcation line zone became dangerously heated.

In the past few years, a hope has arisen that dangerous confrontation would somehow be eased. The North and the South sat down at the negotiating table and tried to find points of contact in the complex matter of unification and lowering the level of military-political confrontation. However, the dialogue brought more disappointment than real improvement. Despite the fact that the DPRK's numerous peace initiatives, as it seemed, had created the preconditions for eliminating suspicion, they were invariably seen in Seoul as "propaganda tricks."

The fact remains: The thesis about "preparing to repel an attack" is continuing to shape the political climate on the

peninsula. The two most powerful military groupings in Asia are standing face to face. The lives of millions of people are governed by "army camp" laws, with all the ensuing consequences. For example—in South Korea, any person who is exposed as a sympathizer of Pyongyang, and who undermines the stability of the regime by his behavior or his way of thinking, may fall foul of the repressions envisaged by the "National Security Law." The priest Mun In-Hwan and the student Yim Su Kyong, who visited the North illegally on a "people's diplomacy" mission, found themselves behind bars charged with violation of the existing law.

People on both sides of the wall are deprived of direct information about one another's lives. There are no telephone or postal links. It is impossible to receive radio and television programs. Should not changes be expected, if only in this sphere? Answering my question posed during the press conference on the latest DPRK initiative, Major General Kim Yang Kwon, chief of a defense ministry directorate, explained: "First of all, the reinforced concrete wall must be demolished. This is the main precondition for opening the doors between the North and the South. Note that the DPRK citizens have free access to the necessary information about the situation in South Korea. Newspapers report regularly on the fact that the military dictatorship regime of the traitor No Tae-u is coming apart at the seams. Its downfall is inevitable, and the people, driven to despair by merciless exploitation, dream of the day when the real "paradise on earth," constructed in the North, will be established in the South too. What do the proprietors of the wall think about it? The South Korean authorities believe that at the moment it is the height of frivolousness to start a business in souvenirs consisting of pieces of concrete. The wall for them is inviolable, as one of the guarantees of "security."

Meanwhile, a campaign is gaining force in the DPRK, unprecedented in its emotional charge. It is directing the masses' anger toward having "the hated barrier razed to the gound."

So when will the wall collapse?

Southeast Asia & Pacific

UN Official Visits Moscow To Discuss Cambodia

LD2301212890 Moscow TASS in English 1842 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 23 TASS—United Nations Undersecretary-General Rafeeuddin Ahmed [name as received] visited Moscow between January 21-23.

He met Soviet Deputy Foreign Minsiter Igor Rogachev to discuss ways for a political settlement of the situation around Cambodia and the enhanced U.N. role in the practical solution of the Cambodian problem.

Ahmed also met special representative of the Cambodian government Bo Rasi.

Deputy Foreign Minister Chaplin Visits Indonesia

LD2401120390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1035 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Text] [Words indistinct] (TASS)—The possibility of simplifying visa procedures for representatives of business circles in Indonesia and the USSR was discussed on 23 January at the Indonesian Foreign Ministry. Consultations on consular affairs of mutual interest were held at the Indonesian Foreign Ministry. The Soviet delegation was led by B.N. Chaplin, USSR deputy foreign minister, and the Indonesian by Sudarmanto Kadarisman, director general for protocol and consular affairs of the Indonesian Foreign Ministry. An accord was reached on continuing consultations on consular affairs in Jakarta and Moscow with the aim of further developing relations between the USSR and Indonesia.

Near East & South Asia

Iranian 'Restraint' Needed in Soviet Azerbaijan

NC2301140890 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1100 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Yuriy Andreyev commentary]

[Excerpts] Esteemed listeners, the Iranian Council of Ministers held a meeting yesterday under the chairmanship of President 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani. The Iranian Government expressed regret at the use of force in Soviet Azerbaijan.

Of course, it is difficult to look at events in the Soviet Caucasus with indifference. Everyone, friend and foe of the Soviet Union alike, is truly perturbed. The national disaster in Azerbaijan and Armenia is the most painful event in the world today. Blood is being shed there and murder and mayhem is being witnessed. Tens of thousands of innocent people have been forced to leave their homes. Extremist forces have taken leave of their senses and are behaving with a Hitlerite nationalism and trampling on the interests of their nationalities.

Both Soviet republics are on a collision course toward (?more) bloodshed. In my opinion, many people do not understand what is happening in the Soviet Caucasus. One must recognize that the issue is one of saving the lives of a large number of people and protecting the security of the regions and nationalities of the Soviet Union. Brutal and illusory nationalistic flights of fancy have dragged the people to the brink of the precipice.

None of us should close our eyes to reality. We must profoundly analyze what is happening there. Over the past 2 years, the Soviet Government tried to resolve the (?outstanding) nationalistic disputes of Azerbaijan and Armenia with patience and fortitude and based its efforts, in general, on friendly talks, the search for compromise, and consideration of the interests of the two nationalities. Moscow acted only in a conciliatory

manner and stressed that belligerence, animosity, and the continuation of the imbroglio could not have favorable results.

The Soviet Government and party organizations, the Congress of USSR People's Deputies, and prominent social and religious figures have called on people to heed the voice of sound judgment and halt violence and belligerence. However, foolish behavior continued in the Soviet Caucasus and assumed a variety of forms. Bands of combatants were formed and party and government installations were occupied, roads were blocked, airports were besieged, military personnel and ammunition depots were attacked, and, most important of all, people were killed, with most of the victims of such actions being old people and women.

The extremist forces hid their true face behind all kinds of ideological masks, which was not very difficult for them to do. An increasingly illogical and irreconciliable stance was revealed through slogans. How long could this balancing on the edge of a precipice continue and what price would the people of Armenia and Azerbaijan have to pay? When this conflict escalated, the Supreme Soviet Presidium was forced to issue a decree declaring a state of emergency in most of the areas of Azerbaijan and Armenia. However, this measure could not stem the tide of these cataclysmic events.

The terrifying game continued at the expense of the Azerbaijani and Armenian nationalities and continued to take a fresh toll. It was as that time that, in accordance with a decision by the Soviet leadership, units of the Interior Ministry and the Soviet Armed Forces entered Baku and the area on the Soviet-Iranian border and most of the other regions of Azerbaijan and Armenia and took action to gain control of the situation. [passage omitted citing Gorbachev speech]

In assessing the Iranian Government's stance, we must realize that a lot depends today on a realistic approach and restraint on the part of Iran. It is no coincidence that Eduard Shevardnadze, the Soviet foreign minister, sent a special message to the Iranian leadership on events in Soviet Azerbaijan. The dialogue and friendly talks which had been initiated between the Soviet Union and the Islamic Republic of Iran following the successful visit of 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani to Moscow should not be interrupted. Today, more than ever, the two sides need greater mutual understanding. Through concerted efforts, the region should be prevented from faltering at the brink of the precipice and resulting in a debacle.

Every step taken in Soviet Azerbaijan which is taken behind Moscow's back can have unforeseeable and irrevocable consequences. Constructive efforts make it possible to resolve the crisis through compromise. The Iranian Government invites Moscow to act in this manner. The distressing situation in the Caucasus demands fortitude and that wiser heads should prevail. Therefore, any unconsidered nationalistic or religious appeals would be dangerous.

Meanwhile, most Iranian newspapers have interpreted the actions of the extremists as a step forward for Islam. Mehdi Karrubi, the speaker of the Islamic Majlis, stated that any intimidation or aggression against the Muslims' rights would create more problems for the Soviet Union.

The Pakistani Foreign Ministry has condemned the use of the Armed Forces against the Azerbaijani Muslims. What is the meaning of this political blindness? Why do selfish interests blur the vision of individuals so that they fail to see the truth? Every realistic person clearly sees from the legal, moral, and political point of view, the Soviet leadership's stance is justified. The Soviet leadership is saving the lives, dignity, and honor of the two nationalities and it adopted this decision, which reflects the will of our people, after much sorrow and turmoil. Politicians may come and go.

I do not know how much time they have to continue their hue and cry and to (?encourage) bloodshed and change the mode of thought of the people. For me it is clear that their defeat is definite and imminent, as history is going against them.

Iran Reaction to Events in Border Areas Viewed

LD2301135690 Moscow World Service in English 0710 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Tensions in Soviet Transcaucasus on the border with Iran, too, remain high. The Soviet Government imposed a state of emergency there. It is working to normalize the situation. This requires restraint and objectivity in assessing the state of affairs more than ever before. Our analyst (Yuriy Andreyev) on Iran's reaction to developments in the border areas.

The close attention of Iran's news media to the Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan is justifiable. According to varying estimates, some 10 million Azerbaijanis live in Iran. many of them have relatives in the Soviet Union and maintain contacts with them. There are long-standing economic, political, and cultural ties between Soviet and Iranian Azerbaijanis. Two levels of Iran's reaction to events in Soviet Azerbaijan can be singled out, governmental, and propagandistic. Officially the Islamic Republic of Iran has taken a restrained stand and declared that developments in Azerbaijan are an internal affair of the Soviet Union. During the recent visit to Moscow by its Deputy Foreign Minister Mahmud Va'ezi the two sides analyzed the situation on their border and emphasized their willingness to promote human contacts, border ties such as cultural and trade exchanges and contacts between relatives.

At the same time an Iranian delegation led by the chief of the Foreign Ministry's Visas and Passports Department, Tale Masuleh, was working in the USSR. Negotiations resulted in drafting a memorandum on conditions for exchanges of visits between relatives from both countries as a private trip, as well as agrements on simplifying the

procedure of crossing the border for people living in the border regions. The documents are expected to be signed in Tehran in late January.

However, it is noteworthy that a number of Iranian periodicals have tried to capitalize on the situation propagandistically. For instance, they linked demonstrations on the Soviet-Iranian border to Islamic fundamentalists. The newspaper JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI described the events as the rise of the sun of Islam and a striving for unity on the part of all Muslims. Other periodicals are promoting the same idea. There is nothing new in this approach as such. Iran has sought for several years now to influence the religious feelings of Soviet Muslims by means of broadcasting religious program in several languages and dialects. However, at the moment this kind of propaganda has an openly political tinge. The [word indistinct] of such commentaries is obvious enough. It is an attempt to simplify a complicated ethnic issue, push objectivity to the background and obtain political dividends.

The newspaper KEYHAN INTERNATIONAL, for one, refers to what it calls annexation of part of Iranian territory by Russia. It claims editorially that the existing vacuum in ideology, economics and the governing system will lead the people populating the annexed territory to a new model in which they are interested following the collapse of Marxism. It is obvious that the KEYHAN INTERNATIONAL seeks to bury the Soviet Union prematurely. The situation in the border regions requires a well-considered approach, regard for each other's interests, open dialogue, and respect for each other's rights.

Trade Development Protocol Signed With Israel

LD2301203990 Moscow TASS in English 2014 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 23 TASS—The Soviet visit of Israeli businessmen resulted in the signing of a protocol on the development of trade and economic relations between business communities of the two countries.

The protocol was signed today by Chairman of the Presidium of the Soviet Chamber of Commerce and Industry Vladislav Malkevich and President of the Federation of Israeli Chambers of Commerce Dan Gillerman. Soviet-Israeli direct trade and economic relations were broken off 23 years ago.

Malkevich told TASS that the protocol creates a legal basis for the development of business contacts. The status of chambers of commerce as public organisations enables to this development [as received] even when diplomatic relations are absent.

Malkevich believes that in addition to trade relations, the Soviet Union and Israel can develop interaction in land reclamation, agriculture, the production of medical equipment and medicines, machine building for the light and food industries, electronics, nuclear power engineering and the processing of industrial waste.

Projects to use the Israeli-developed method of drip irrigation in the Soviet Union have been elaborated and large-scale deliveries of Israeli agricultural products on a compensation basis are expected.

This year it is planned to open offices of the Soviet Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Tel Aviv and of the Federation of Israeli Chambers of Commerce in Moscow, exchange delegations of business people and hold an exhibition of Israeli export goods in Moscow, Malkevich noted.

Gillerman said that the protocol won't bear fruits immediately. Its major aim is to create general frames of cooperation to enable the fulfilment of Soviet-Israeli projects.

Israeli Religion Minister Arrives for Visit

LD2401023190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0130 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Text] Zvulun Hammer, Israel's Minister of religious affairs, has arrived in our country. He arrived through the offices of the joint tourism enterprise (Spros), in which the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions [AUCCTU] and Swiss and Canadian firms are participating. As journalists have been told, the Israeli minister has been received by USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Adamishin. The program for Hammer's visit includes a conversation at the Council for Religious Affairs under the USSR Council of Ministers, meetings with representatives of the Jewish religious community, and a visit to Leningrad.

Meets With Adamishin

TA2301204590 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 2000 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Religious Affairs Minister Zvulun Hammer today [23 January] met with Anatoliy Adamishin, Soviet deputy foreign minister. The deputy minister told Mr Hammer that glasnost is irreversible in his country, including everything connected with freedom of religion and conscience.

Our correspondent Rafi Shalhin reports that Minister Hammer asked his host to allow an increase in the number of Israeli delegation members in Moscow, who deal with Jews wishing to emigrate to Israel.

'First Ever' Sabbath Prayer Held in Kremlin

TA2301205090 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 2000 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Last Friday night, the first-ever Sabbath prayer was held in the Kremlin. Our correspondent Gad Ben-Yitzhaq reports that the prayer took place after the closing ceremony of a big international convention on environmental issues. The prayer was conducted by

Rabbi Yakubowitz, chief rabbi of UK Jews; Rabbi Schneier of the World Jewish Congress; Moscow Chief Rabbi Schayewitz; and Rabbi Rosen, chief rabbi of the Romanian Jews.

Many of those who attended the convention, including Gentiles, watched the prayer.

Rabin, Newspaper Editor Discuss Intifadah

WA2301210790 Moscow TRUD in Russian 16 Jan 90 p 3

Report on interviews with Israeli Minister of Defense Yitzhak Rabin and (Bashir Bargutkhi), editor in chief of the newspaper AL-TALIA, by Z. Nalbandyan in Tel Aviv and the occupied territories; date not given: "How Is Knot To Be Untied?"]

[Text] The word "intifadah" has become an integral part of the world political vocabulary. The Palestinian national uprising, which has lasted for more than two years, has come to be the most important factor of the Middle Eastern knot. How has this factor affected the positions of the sides participating in the conflict? What are the prospects for a peaceful settlement between Israel and the Palestinians? Our correspondent in the Middle East, Z. Nalbandyan, who visited Tel-Aviv and the occupied territories, suggests that the readers compare the points of view of representatives of the two sides.

Peaceful Dialogue Is Necessary

Yitzhak Rabin, minister of defense of Israel, a prominent functionary of the Labor Party.

[Question] As head of the military department, you are responsible for the actions of the army in the occupied territories. What is your view of the methods the army is using to combat the intifadah?

[Answer] There are no good methods for this struggle because the intifadah is a people's uprising. The soldiers are opposed not only by adult men, but also women and children. Naturally, suppressing them cannot be morally satisfying.

Since the very first day of the uprising, I have set two main tasks for the army: First, reduce the violence to a minimum; and second, ensure the resumption of the activities of local Palestinian government structures. Unfortunately, these two goals have not been achieved thus far, despite the number of participants in protest actions that are declining considerably compared to the initial period. I do not know how long the current situation will last. In any event, we will have enough strength and patience.

If we look at the situation in broader terms, I hope that the more successful our actions aimed at ensuring peace and security are, the greater the chances to begin the process of a political settlement of the problem as a whole will be.

[Question] Do you consider a peaceful solution possible?

[Answer] Yes, definitely, though the problem is not simple. The essence of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is in the claims of both sides to one and the same territory. We believe that we have a legitimate right to the entire area which the Bible refers to as the land of Israel. For their part, the Palestinians consider this area to be historical Palestine. We have thought from the very beginning that the conflict can only be settled by political methods. When the United Nations came up with the idea of creating two independent states in the former mandate territory of Palestine in the late forties, we supported it. Both the United States and the USSR agreed to this solution. However, the Arabs did not accept this plan, and after the last British soldier left, the united armed forces of Arab countries moved against us under the slogan "Drive Israel into the sea."

This was the longest war that our state has fought. We won this war for independence. However, at the same time it brought about two tragic consequences. First of all, it gave rise to the Arab-Israeli confrontation. In addition, the problem of refugees developed, and not just Palestinian but also Jewish refugees. At present, I am convinced that both these problems can be solved through negotiations.

[Question] In other words, you believe that force will accomplish nothing in this matter?

[Answer] Those who count on force are held captive by illusions.

[Question] In the course of a peace dialogue, the choice of partners is quite essential. As far as I know, your government refuses to enter into negotiations with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), which has been recognized by the world community to be the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

[Answer] The PLO sets forth three conditions which are unacceptable for us: the right of Palestinians to self-determination, to creating an independent state, and the right of refugees to return to their cities and villages in the territory of Israel. At the same time, it seems to me that the position of Palestinians living in the territories (Israeli leaders do not use the word "occupied") and that of the PLO leadership in Tunisia differ from each other though this is not said publicly.

I am quite aware that not a single Palestinian residing in the territories loves Israel, and that not one of them wants to live under our control. It just seems to me that these people are more realistically minded.

[Question] Do you hope that they will accept the idea of autonomy?

[Answer] Recently, I have met many times with the leaders of Palestinians living in the territories. I have tried to explain to them that the position "all or nothing" has not been useful for their fellow countrymen. For our part, we now propose self-determination with only this

restriction—giving up an army of their own for a specific period of time. Three years later, we will sit down at the negotiating table with them and the Jordanians, and will discuss a final solution to the problem.

[Question] It is common knowledge that the Israeli coalition government is being torn apart by contradictions. Could you explain what specific differences there are between ministers from the Likud bloc, headed by Yitzhak Shamir, and the Labor Party to which you belong?

[Answer] First of all, I would like to stress that the issues of war and peace cannot be resolved without a broad political consensus. I believe that, despite all the contradictions, our national unity government can come to an agreement on the nature of advancing toward a peaceful settlement.

The main difference is as follows. The prime minister believes that we should retain the control of the territories for security reasons. We, the Labor Party, while recognizing the right of Israel to these lands, nonetheless do not consider it possible to keep 1.5 million Palestinians by force. The people populating the territory are at issue rather than the territory. We do not want to turn Israel into either a binational or a racist state. Also, we subscribe to the slogan "Peace in exchange for territories."

In the process, we are not going to give everything away. For example, Jerusalem should remain a unified city under Israeli sovereignty. As far as the rest of the lands are concerned, we will transfer the segments of the West Bank of the Jordan River and the Gaza Strip, which are mainly populated by the Palestinians, to the Jordanian-Palestinian state when the issue of its creation arises following a period of transition.

In this context, I believe that we should not create new Israeli settlements in these territories.

"They Just Do Not Want To Give Back the Land"

(Bashir Bargutkhi), editor in chief of the newspaper AL-TALIA, one of the most authoritative Palestinian leaders.

[Question] At present, two years after the national uprising began, how do you view the changes that have occurred in the life of Palestinians on the West Bank of the Jordan and in the Gaza sector?

[Answer] There are two aspects of our situation. On the one hand, the life of Palestinians is tragic now because we lose brothers and sisters every day. At the same time, the financial situation of the populace has deteriorated to the extreme, incomes have plummeted, and the normal process of education of our children has been disrupted.

On the other hand, the process of acquiring national self-awareness has been enhanced in the course of these two years. The people are changing right before our eyes. They feel that they are the main force of the liberation movement.

In a word, we suffer and bleed, but we understand fully that the intifadah is the only way to freedom. This gives us confidence.

[Question] What is your attitude toward the plan for elections in the occupied territories set forth by the Israeli Government?

[Answer] I believe that the Shamir plan is merely an artful trap. First, it negates the role of the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinian people. Moreover, an attempt to split off the population of the occupied territories from the PLO and its leadership is apparent.

Second, Israel strives to artificially split the Palestinian people, and pick out from it only the segment which populates the occupied territories. However, this is impossible; after all, every family here is divided into those who are here and those who are abroad.

Third, under this plan, only limited autonomy is going to be offered to the Palestinians after the elections. Even thinking about an independent state is considered impermissible. In other words, they are offering us to vote in favor of continuing the occupation.

At the same time, the Israelis have categorically rejected a peace initiative set forth a year ago by the Palestine National Council at its session in Algiers. This initiative proclaimed that the Palestinian people and its leadership aspire to establish universal and just peace on the land of Palestine. It was approved by the United Nations. The essence of the initiative is found in creating two independent states, the Israeli and the Palestinian. A way to achieve this goal was mapped out—a peace conference with the participation of all interested parties—the PLO, and the five permanent members of the UN Security Council.

[Question] After all, the Israelis promise to give the Palestinians extensive rights within the framework of autonomy?

[Answer] This is also a trick. Their dream is to turn the region into an appendage of Israel from the economic point of view, and into a bantustan of sorts from the political point of view. The Palestinians will find themselves blocked in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and cut off from the rest of the Arab world. They will not have an opportunity to move freely. What kind of "extensive rights" are we talking about?

[Question] The Israeli leaders explain their nonrecognition of the concept of creating an independent Palestinian state by the latter supposedly jeopardizing the security of their country.

[Answer] Israel denies to us the right to self-determination in principle. Even in the remote future,

they only allow for an opportunity for a Jordanian-Palestinian state to be created—not a Palestinian state but a joint one with Jordan.

The real problem is that Israel does not at all want to give up its expansionist policy. All the talk about security is but an awkward attempt to draw the attention of the world public away from the real causes of the things that interfere with a genuine peaceful settlement of the entire problem.

Supreme Soviet Delegation Visits Afghanistan

LD2301221390 Moscow TASS in English 1959 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Kabul January 23 TASS—A delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet led by Deputy Chairman of the Council of the Union Chamber A. Mokanu, who is also member of the Central Auditing Commission of the Soviet Communist Party, is currently on an official visit to Afghanistan. On Tuesday delegation members met activists of Afghan public organisations in the House of Soviet Science and Culture.

The Soviet delegation head told the audience about changes in the Soviet Union, the first results of perestroyka in the political, social and economic fields and the activity of the revamped Soviet parliament.

Chairman of the Jirga (the lower chamber of the National Council of the Afghan Republic) Commission for International Affairs H. Mangal briefed the guests on the efforts made by the Afghan Government to stabilise the situation in the republic and on the achievements of the national reconciliation policy.

A photographic exhibition devoted to the Congress of Soviet People's Deputies and perestroika was opened in a ceremony in the House of Soviet Science and Culture.

In the afternoon Soviet delegation members had talks with Afghan Defence Minister General Shahnawaz Tanai who briefed them on the military-political situation in Afghanistan and expressed gratitude to the Soviet Union for comprehensive assistance to the Afghan people. The minister presented Soviet visitors with anniversary medals "70 years of the Restoration of Independence of Afghanistan".

The delegation members then visited the Harbi Puhantun military school.

The Soviet delegation also visited the Djangalak car-repair factory in Kabul.

Roundtable on Anniversary of Afghan Pullout

LD2301175290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] A roundtable discussion devoted to the anniversary of the completion of the withdrawal of the limited contingent of Soviet troops from Afghanistan was held in Moscow today in the sessions hall of the board of the NOVOSTI News Agency. Taking part were academics, diplomats, military chiefs, and Soviet and foreign journalists. During the exchange of opinions, those who spoke observed once again that by sending its troops into Afghanistan, the Soviet Union set the world public against itself, violated the norms of behavior, and went counter to common human interests.

A year ago, many specialists were certain that the Najibullah government would collapse without the support of Soviet troops, but this has not happened. What is happening is that the combat capability of the armed forces is strengthening, and more and more mujahidin are going over to the side of the people. The successes would be even more weighty if the countries of the West were to observe the Geneva accords.

Envoy to Sudan on Ties, Resuming Arms Supplies

JN2401110090 Kuwait AL-SIYASAH in Arabic 22 Jan 90 p 12

[Interview with Soviet ambassador to Sudan (no name given) by Shakir al-Jawhari in Khartoum; date not given]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Al-Jawhari] Let us begin with an assessment of the Sudanese-Soviet relations following the 30 June movement?

[The ambassador] The relations that existed between our countries during recent years did not change much following the internal changes and the change of power in Sudan. As relations were before 30 June, so they are now. There are normal contacts between the two countries through diplomatic channels and through the embassies in Khartoum and Moscow. We still exchange opinions on the most important international issues of interest to both countries. Also, we had consultations on some regional issues, and even on some domestic issues of concern to the Sudanese people and their leadership. [passage omitted]

[Al-Jawhari] Ten days after 30 June, I met with Lieutenant General 'Umar al-Bashir. I asked him about the Sudanese-Soviet relations. He answered clearly that he plans to restore these relations to the level they were before 1970. He said that he wants to resupply the Sudanese Army with Soviet arms, and that he informed the Soviet charge d'affaires of this when he met with him. He said that the Soviet charge d'affaires welcomed this request. What happened after this?

[The ambassador] The meeting that was held between Lt. Gen. al-Bashir and the charge d'affaires was the first meeting.

[Al-Jawhari] And the last one?

[The ambassador] Yes, and the last one. In general, it was a get-acquainted meeting. During this meeting, the two sides actually expressed their desire to continue cooperation and to promote it in the various fields. However, no agreement was reached on a specific issue. This applies to what you mentioned in your question on

the Sudanese leadership's plans to promote military cooperation between the two countries.

[Al-Jawhari] Has Lt. Gen. al-Bashir requested this?

[The ambassador] No, he did not make a request, but he spoke in general about the new Sudanese leadership's plan to continue and promote cooperation between the two countries in all fields.

[Al-Jawhari] Has he referred to the arms issue in particular?

[The ambassador] He mentioned the arms issue. However, the general ideas that were put forward during that meeting were not discussed in detail. [passage omitted]

[Al-Jawhari] Specifically, is the USSR ready to resume arms supplies to the Sudanese Army?

[The ambassador] I cannot confirm this, because the issue was not presented to us specifically. Moreover, regarding cooperation among states in such sensitive fields, our viewpoint is still as it was in the past; namely that before discussing these sensitive fields of cooperation, there should be cooperation in the ordinary fields such as political, cultural, and economic cooperation in order to rise to the level of other fields of cooperation. On the other hand, it is known that during recent years the USSR's approach is to maintain world peace to avert the eruption of a new world war and quell hotbeds of tension and to settle conflicts in various parts of the world. [passage omitted]

[Al-Jawhari] Do you believe that the security and media campaigns in Sudan affect the Sudanese Communist Party [SCP], and does this reflect negatively on the development of relations between the two countries?

[The ambassador] [passage omitted] Regarding the SCP, it is well-known that it is one of the parties in the Sudanese society. It is also known that this party represents a national force that has been struggling for national values throughout its history. It waged struggle for achieving independence, for consolidating political independence, for continuing economic independence, and for serving the Sudanese people's interests. In light of this, we believe that the Sudanese press accusations against the SCP are unjustified. We also believe that this campaign does not serve efforts to resolve this country's urgent issues. As well, this campaign does not serve Sudan on either the domestic or foreign levels. [passage omitted]

Sub-Saharan Africa

Outcome of Lusaka ANC Meeting Described

MB2301181990 Moscow in English to Southern Africa 1900 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Unattributed commentary—read by announcer]

[Text] Our commentary is devoted to the results of the session of the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress [ANC] of South Africa that ended its work yesterday in Lusaka. This session of the leadership body of the ANC carried a special, maybe a historical, character.

Both members of the acting leadership of the congress, headed by the ANC's general secretary, Alfred Nzo, and the veterans of that organization who were freed some time ago after 27 years of confinement in South African prisons. [sentence as heard]

The delegation of veterans was headed by the former ANC general secretary, Walter Sisulu. For a free assembly of the two generations of the congress leaders, the only people that were not there were its chairman, Oliver Tambo, who is getting treatment in Sweden, and the historical leader of the ANC, Nelson Mandela, who is continuing to serve sentence in the South African [words indistinct].

True, judging by everything, his confinmement will not be for life, and many people, including the ANC leadership, are sure that he will be freed soon. The discussion of the executive committee session in Lusaka of the plans of the work of the congress leadership after the freeing of Nelson Mandela from prison testifies to that.

Among the other questions that were discussed at the session of the leadership body of the ANC is the necessity of activizing the efforts of this organization, (?directed) as (?conducting) this year, of talks with the South African Government. True, for that the government must first of all repeal the state of emergency, free all political prisoners, legalize the banned political organizations, and withdraw the country's African population from the regions of their residence [as heard].

According to Walter Sisulu, who spoke in Lusaka, the development of the situation in South Africa today has acnieved such a stage when there is no turning back for the government. There is only one road, Walter Sisulu underlined, and that road leads to the democratic and nonracial future of South Africa.

The general secretary of the ANC, Alfred Nzo, said that the situation in South Africa is characterized by the strengthening unity of the opponents of apartheid, who are joined today by even those who were not so long ago adherents of the regime.

The plans for the further consolidation of forces of the ANC with other mass democratic organizations of South Africa for the building of a nonracial society in the country were also discussed at the session of the National Executive Committee in Lusaka.

The participants of the session noted that the big successes of the antiracist movement last year formed the prerequisite for the search of ways to the constructive dialogue with the government with the aim of solving the South African problems by peaceful means.

The Government of South Africa, judging by everything, does not negate the existence of these prerequisites. True, it sees its sources in absolutely other things. [sentence as heard] Last week the minister of law and order, Adriaan Vlok, stated that what contributed to the measures adopted in 1988 against several organizations and political figures were the creation of the climate of stability, peaceful coexistence, and good neighbors as among the various groups of the population. [sentence as heard].

As we see, the approach to the assessment of the reasons is diametrically opposite, but it is evident that it is difficult to expect anything else today. The main thing for both sides is to recognize the possibility of organizing a constructive dialogue on the basis of the already achieved changes of the situation in South Africa.

There cannot be any retreat. The South African people have the right to a democratic future in a single family of a civilization common to all mankind.

East Europe

Bulgarian-Soviet Friendship Society Meets

PM2301160590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Jan 90 Second Edition p 6

[Own correspondent L. Zhmyrev dispatch under rubric "On the Spot": "Without Ostentation or Insincerity. Enlarged Plenum of All-National Bulgarian-Soviet Friendship Committee"]

[Text] Sofia, January—An enlarged plenum of the All-National Bulgarian-Soviet Friendship Committee was held in Sofia the other day in the new atmosphere of perestroyka. The participants stated that it was time to resolutely put a stop to ostentation and formalism. For many years the movement for Bulgarian-Soviet friendship was essentially farmed out to functionaries who held the same "events" year after year—trips to visit the "friends," presenting them with souvenirs, and proposing toasts.

I recall that 7 years ago the diesel vessel "Dnepr," steaming down the Danube from Izmail to Passau, dropped anchor at Ruse. "It'll be a hard night. Friendship..." the captain sighed. I and the members of the sailors' delegation traveled to the small Bulgarian town of Dve Mogili, where a standard event to "strengthen" Bulgarian-Soviet friendship was being held. There was a banal report, an ostentatious exchange of greetings and gifts, and assurances of "eternal and inviolable" friendship.

I can remember being bored and very ashamed. I was oppressed by a sense of guilt. A good idea distinguished by remarkable traditions had been formalized and debased.

Clearly, the plenum speakers had similar "events" in mind when they talked about the still unremedied defects of misunderstood hospitality in our relations.

The plenum participants recalled the letter recently addressed to the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee plenum by Tsola Dragoycheva, a former member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo who was for a long time chairman of the All-National Bulgarian-Soviet Friendship Committee. With bitterness and pain she stated that in recent years the movement had gradually lost its influence among the Bulgarian public. It was painful to see such hard-won fruits being lost and the invaluable traditions linked with the Bulgarian people's age-old, sacred love of Russia and Lenin being damaged.

This does not mean, of course, that everything in the past and present of the mass movement was bad or that it had ceased to develop. Great work is being done by Bulgarian-Soviet Friendship Clubs. Their number has grown to 5,360, and the number of International Friendship Clubs among young students has reached the 3,000 mark. There have been a great many new and interesting developments in the activity of the Bulgarian-Soviet Friendship Central House, the National Museum of Bulgarian-Soviet Friendship, the magazine BULGARO-SUVETSKA DRUZHBA, and the Bulgarian-Soviet friendship houses throughout the country.

Among the movement's diverse initiatives have been the Soviet Culture Days organized in Bulgaria, Soviet book weeks, Soviet film festivals, Soviet drama days, and many others. Bulgarian working people together with envoys from various Soviet republics have taken part in them.

Many speakers supported the position that the movement could do a great deal to bring about mutual familiarization with the positive features of renewal and democratization both in the USSR and in Bulgaria. They believe that, at the same time, the movement has another important task—to combat the present-day anti-Sovietism, which is alarming the public, and spontaneous negation of Soviet experience. The other speakers dwelled on the need to fundamentally transform working structures and methods and to create a broad movement on a public basis without a multilayered hierarchy or a cumbersome administrative apparatus.

Yes, it seems that the time for sham rituals and superficiality in our ties is passing and the formerly mandatory attributes of the Bulgarian-Soviet Friendship movement are withering away. There is an obvious trend toward renewal.

More Political Parties Formed in Czechoslovakia

PM2301164190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 6

[Own correspondent L. Kornilov dispatch: "Czechoslovakia: 38 Parties Registered"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] A consultants' council attached to President Havel's office has been created: It will consist of eminent foreigners who have a direct

relationship with Czechoslovakia. The president has appointed Karel Schwarzenberg chairman of the council.

The 38th political party in Czechoslovakia—the Independent Left—has now registered. It was formed on the basis of dissociation both from past policy and from the decisions of the recent extraordinary session of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. The Independent Left recognizes the values of democratic centralism and intends to pursue a "down-to-earth policy."

At the same time it is reported that four political parties have united to form the Republican Union, whose main task is to propagandize private ownership with no restrictions on capital, means of production, or the number of paid workers. The state's role here is merely to create the optimum conditions ensuring the maximum activeness on the part of individuals. So that citizens become the real owners of the means of production, there must be a reprivatization of state enterprises. The Republican Union Congress will be convened within 1 month: It has around 4,000 members at present. [passage omitted]

Civic Forum Warns Against Settling Scores

PM2301164590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Jan 90 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report: "Civic Forum Statement"]

[Text] Prague, 20 Jan—P. Pithart, representative of the social movement Civic Forum, issued a statement on Czechoslovak television Friday concerning the increasing incidence of persecution of Communists in the country.

We have delivered society, P. Pithart stated, from the fear it experienced during the time of rule by one party—the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ]. But I fear that we may not be able to persuade people not to be afraid of us.

All compromised Communists and nonparty people should quit their posts of responsibility, P. Pithart went on to say. And all the amateurs who clung to top jobs solely thanks to their party card or the favor of the powers that be should go too. However, brutal methods of solving these problems will rebound against not only Civic Forum but the whole of society. I therefore call upon Civic Forum branches at local level to repudiate pseudorevolutionary methods. We should influence the changes as citizens rather than as a party issuing ultimatums.

Is it really true that every Communist is immoral and every Civic Forum activist as pure as the driven snow? Discussion must be carried out soberly. The Communist Party could not have been only a party of Stalinist and Brezhnevite epigones, the Civic Forum representative stressed. You sometimes get the impression that there are not just provocateurs behind the reckless purges. There are careerists and simply ignorant ambitious people in the ranks of the movement. Moreover, there are also in Civic Forum people who in former times actively worked within the old structures. Those who try to take all power into their hands in the name of Civic Forum should be ashamed.

Civic Forum has been set up not to settle accounts with Communists but to combat former practices, P. Pithart stated.

Ambassador Stukalin Meets MSZMP Chairman

LD2301234690 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2050 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, 23 Jan (TASS)—A meeting was held here today between B. Stukalin, USSR ambassador to Hungary, and Gyula Tuermer, chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP]. On behalf of the CPSU Central Committee, the MSZMP leader was handed an invitation to visit the Soviet Union. The trip is expected to take place in the nearest time.

PZPR's Rakowski Interviewed on Party's Future

PM2401120990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Jan 90 Second Edition p 6

[Interview with Mieczyslaw Rakowski, first secretary of Polish United Workers Party Central Committee, by own correspondent Anatoliy Starukhi in Warsaw under rubric "Our Interview": "Our Aim Is Democratic Socialism"—date not given, first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Warsaw, January—The 11th Congress of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] opens in Warsaw in 3 days' time. On the eve of this forum which will conclude the PZPR's activity, PZPR First Secretary Mieczyslaw Rakowski met with Anatoliy Starukhin, PRAVDA's own correspondent in Poland, and answered his questions.

[Starukhin] I think, Comrade First Secretary, that the main subject for discussion at the forthcoming congress will be the collective quest for options relating to the party's future makeup—that is, it will be a question of creating a new party.

[Rakowski] Yes, we now genuinely know that most of our party members share the opinion that the congress should adopt a resolution stating that the PZPR has completed its historic mission and that its place should now be taken by another, new party of the Polish "Left." That is what we call all our left-wing forces put together. At the same time, it will be the first congress of the PZPR as a party which no longer rules the country, even though it is not yet in complete opposition. As is well known, PZPR members head four ministries—national defense, internal affairs, transport, shipping, and communications, and foreign economic cooperation.

[Starukhin] Consequently, can the PZPR's position today and, if I can put it this way, its psychological and political condition, be viewed without paying close attention to the events of the recent past?...

[Rakowski] It must be admitted that the event which fundamentally changed the political situation in Poland was the proposal put forward by the PZPR leadership in August 1988 to hold the "roundtable"—in other words, to convene in a single place representatives of various political orientations, including the opposition, which had not been formally recognized for many years. The aforesaid proposal was not a whim on anyone's part, it was not a random gesture but a logical consequence of the serious and profound analysis of the country's development in the eighties. This analysis showed that the continuation of the policy of agreement and struggle—which was understood as an attempt to solve Polish problems without recognizing the opposition as a factor normalizing social life in the country—would not bring peace in the future but would, on the contrary, threaten to continue the protracted "Polish-Polish war." In such an event the country's public would constantly be rent by opposing factions.

The result of the "roundtable" sessions is well known. It resulted in recognition for the opposition, official registration once again for "Solidarity," and a definition of the "ground rules" for the Sejm and Senate elections then scheduled for June. And although these changes were later discussed at the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum, which ended in January 1989, it was clear that the party as a political formation which had for decades implemented the doctrine of the leading and guiding role and had not even considered the idea that political forces disputing this principle could exist was neither psychologically nor politically ready to conscientiously and sensibly approve this turn of events.

After all, it was at that time that the first voices were raised questioning the correctness of the choice made by the party leadership and ratified by the Central Committee. These voices became stronger and more numerous following the results of the parliamentary elections. As is well known, these were very unfavorable for the PZPR. Most of the citizens who turned out to vote (62 percent) preferred the opposition candidates put up by "Solidarity."

[Starukhin] As far as I can remember, the PZPR's election defeat came as a real shock to the party's ranks. After this staggering defeat and the creation of a government headed by the Catholic politician Tadeusz Mazowiecki for the first few months the party "turned in on itself," as it were, and entered a phase of very painful self-analysis bordering sometimes on unusual self-recrimination...

[Rakowski] That's roughly what happened. People had different opinions in analyzing the causes which influenced the party's loss of power, and—I believe—they still do. Here too several trends can be discerned.

I would include in the first group most of the party's politically active members, who are unanimous in thinking that the causes underlying the loss of confidence in the party on the part of broad strata of the public should be sought in the monopolistic system whereby the PZPR had wielded power throughout past decades. Uncontrolled power is sooner or later subject to distortions. That is a historic law, that is the result. And this does not only apply to the conditions of real socialism.

The diktat of power, the firm conviction of its representatives that "we know better," that we know what is good and bad for the people, the actual undervaluation of working people's opinions accompanied by constant assurances that we listen to the people's voice, the bureaucracy of the entire apparatus of power, particularly the party apparatus, which was to all intents and purposes elevated as a powerful force over the state and the people—these were the main reasons behind the buildup of a sense of protest among the public and their reluctance to follow the PZPR any more. Whereas previously people had kept quiet about this, once the barriers of prohibition and fear—which had naturally emerged in recent years—were removed, the overwhelming majority of the public gave a resolute "thumbs-down" to this practice in the future.

As the causes of the defeat were analyzed, a trend emerged among supporters trying to answer the question of who was guilty and responsible for the defeat. Naturally, in such cases the people responsible are sought among the leadership, not among the rank-and-file party members. The tactical errors which undoubtedly occurred were listed in detail. And, finally, inflexible people made their presence felt. These were people who believed that the main reason behind all our misfortunes was a lack of a principled approach on the part of the party leadership. It was reproached for selling out socialism, for opportunism, and for many other sins. And most of all for betraying Marxism-Leninism.

These inflexible people, making great play of "defending real socialism," do not want to agree with the party's loss of its monopoly position. Actually, in their heart of hearts they long for the old order which the people have already rejected. In my view, the future does not belong to them. It belongs to all those PZPR members who have seen the loss of public confidence in the party as a bitter but wholly justified lesson from the people. It was the people, and not any weaknesses committed by the party either at the "roundtable" or during the election campaign that played the decisive role and determined that the further retention of power in our hands became virtually impossible.

[Starukhin] The taste of defeat, Comrade First Secretary, is not very pleasant—in fact it is rather bitter. But can we imagine what could happen in Poland if the PZPR and its leaders had not come up with the timely proposal to convene the "roundtable" and recognize the opposition as a real political force with an equal right to exist in the country's social life? In short, what might have happened if—to use your words—the "Polish-Polish war" had continued as before?

[Rakowski] I am profoundly convinced and I affirm that sooner or later—but probably sooner—things would have reached the point of the spontaneous processes in Berlin or Prague. Knowing the temperament of my countrymen, I can imagine that we would have had "two Pragues" or "three Berlins" in Warsaw. We chose the only correct route, in my opinion. This was and is a peaceful route, controlled by all the country's responsible political forces at a time of transition from a system of omnipotent one-party rule to a system of parliamentary democracy, within which not one but several parties contend for the voters' confidence and support.

Thus a paradox emerged: The PZPR chose the only correct route, but despite this it will be leaving the country's political scene. Just who decided to hand down such a severe sentence? Several books could be written on this subject. We will leave that to historians. We must restrict ourselves to a terse reply in line with the rules of political journalism. History handed down the sentence. Or rather, it was handed down by the economic and political failures of "real socialism." We were unable to throw off soon enough the shackles of thinking which the formations of Stalinism had clamped on us. The reforms carried out after 1956, the 20th CPSU Congress, and N.S. Khrushchev's famous report were half-hearted and full of restrictions and even fear. We took one step forward and one and one-half steps back... Essentially we were all seduced by absolute uncontrolled power.

Clearly, I'm the last person who would want to a certain extent to, as it were, ascribe my failings and mistakes to the Soviet Union. However, there is no doubt that over the past few decades our party has been greatly influenced by the programs and plans carried out by the CPSU.

That is the truth, and we cannot reject it. Only actively implemented perestroyka, not least in the sphere of international relations—and this means in relations between the CPSU and communist and workers parties in other countries—has radically put a stop to the further development of this condition. And this is one of the reasons for the enormous recognition which M.S. Gorbachev and his supporters enjoy in our party.

[Starukhin] Thus, on the basis of what you have said, the PZPR is a thing of the past. But what about the future? The ideas of a movement of left-wing forces, however uniform they may sometimes appear, require constant development. They must be used in practice and, correspondingly, expressed by someone. And the PZPR's experience and work should not be consigned to some "black box" for decoding in the distant future.

[Rakowski] The, in my view, inevitable winding up of the PZPR's activity does not mean that a vacuum will be formed on the left wing of the movement of social forces. Over the past few months the politically active section of the PZPR, severely criticizing its own past, has concluded that it is necessary to implement the idea of creating a new party which would draw life-giving energy from the achievements of European and Polish socialist thinking and from the values of the communist movement—values that have stood the test of time, even in the most difficult years.

The creation of such a party is a historic necessity. It can and must be an effective counterweight to the right wing which, not only in Poland but in other countries too, is demonstrating not just its vitality but its desire to weaken the left-wing front. Taking into account the revival of right-wing forces in central Europe, the question of the future of the Polish left wing is not just a domestic national issue for our people, but a common European and, I would say, even world issue. And although the concept of the "left wing" is considerably broader than one party of the left, there is no doubt that the lack of such a party would reflect negatively on the strengthening of the political position of left-wingers in general.

[Starukhin] Doesn't it follow from this that we need now to clearly imagine and envision the shape of tomorrow's party in its relationship with its entire environment, with what is happening, and with what direction life is taking?

[Rakowski] Planning our party's future, we believe it necessary to develop an unambiguously positive attitude to all organizations, movements, and trends whose activity to a greater or lesser extent affects the condition of "the Left." This also applies to the left-wing trend existing within "Solidarity." The adoption of this course will in no way mark a desire by the new party to impose its own views on all other organizations of the Left. Those times have gone never to return, and it would be politically stupid to attempt to restore the doctrine of the leading role. On the basis of the essence of the discussion that took place in the PZPR before the 11th Congress I conclude that this view is generally supported.

The party which we intend to create at the constituent congress to be held immediately after the first day of the 11th Congress—where, I think, delegates will decide to wind up the PZPR—will be faced with an enormous task. It will be necessary to wholly rebuild its organizational structure, to elect new leaders, and, above all, to do wise and persistent work aimed at attracting as large a membership as possible to the new party.

Although the years of mass parties, it seems to me, are over, it is still clear that a party's strength is shown not just by the quality of its membership, but also by its size. The main base of the new party will be working people—above all, workers. But even these prerequisites, which will require enormous amounts of energy and time, will not solve the main question of what place the left-wing party will assume in the Polish political arena. Above all, our success will be determined by our ability to wholly rid ourselves of the thinking and abandon the activity typical of the state party which until quite recently the PZPR undoubtedly was. For we cannot forget that even

the greatest reformers are children of the "real socialism" era. And we are all well aware of what kind of thinking and what kind of assessments of the past this era inspired.

The new party, advocating the radical perestroyka of economic relations—and this means subsequently social relations too—will have to develop at almost lightning speed a model of Polish socialism which will be a real alternative to the program presented by the Mazowiecki government ministers for a return to capitalism, and to a capitalism more primitive than was the case in the 19th century.

This "Polish socialist" model should advocate: diverse forms of ownership, without rejecting state and socialized ownership or giving preference merely to private ownership; a state that is wholly concerned about the position of the poor, the weak, and the exploited; a free market, but one that is wisely, fairly, and opportunely controlled by the state; productive industry based on the humanization of labor; political freedom and very developed self-management; freedom of economic, cultural, and social initiative limited only by the legal framework; an independent foreign policy taking account of the people's real interests; equal initial opportunities for everyone who is prepared for competition based not on birth and wealth but on ability, and so forth.

It is not ruled out that such a socialist model will find itself in conflict with the present government's economic and social policy. The threat of such conflict should not, however, restrain the new party from developing such a program. After all, the new party's influence in society will be demonstrated from the very outset by a clearly outlined ideological and political platform. The lack of such a foundation would merely mark the appearance of an ill-defined, colorless party which in the long run could not count on the approval of its members and supporters or hope for the possibility of really influencing the country's social and political life.

Poland's Walesa To Visit, Views Profiled

PM2301161790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent L. Toporkov dispatch: "Lech Walesa to Visit USSR"]

[Text] Warsaw—Lech Walesa, chairman of the "Solidarity" Trade Union Association and of its Gdansk Shipyard Committee and Nobel Prize Winner, will be visiting Moscow. The invitation was conveyed by USSR Ambassador to Poland V. Brovikov. An important and interesting new development. Something which has become possible only in the conditions created by the processes and the social and political transformations which have engulfed the Soviet Union, Poland, and all East European countries.

Not all that long ago the "Solidarity" leader's figure and this social movement itself, which developed beyond the framework of a trade union, were perceived rather ambiguously. Some people perceived them as a threat to socialism. But to which kind of socialism? The state-bureaucratic, dogmatic, and consequently barren socialism. The fact that the healthy "Solidarity" forces, having gained majority support in society, have come to power testifies to their political popularity and their capacity for constructive actions which are expected to produce considerable economic and social effect.

Addressing the Sejm 18 January, Prime Minister T. Mazowiecki, whose name is inseparably linked with "Solidarity," said that the new government's program is aimed not at improving but at changing Poland's economic system, at creating a market economy in the country, and at deliberately curbing the state's role.

For the time being this program's implementation is associated with incredible difficulties and privations being experienced by the people. Wages are declining, price rises are snowballing, and there is a real threat of unemployment. Strikes have started in places.

What is Lech Walesa's attitude toward the prevailing situation? He plays the role of a kind of barometer [as published], throwing his entire authority—on the one hand—into support for the efforts by the government formed with his participation and—on the other hand—raising his voice in defense of working people who are now finding life difficult. On that same day, 18 January, L. Walesa addressed shipyard workers in Gdynia. He said that it is necessary to display self-possession and patience even though, as he went on to say, he would prefer his own program for emergence from the crisis. It is based on taking money away from the rich rather than from the poor, on economic processes being managed by banks of which there are 10-15 in every voivodship, and on labor collectives giving people an opportunity, by means of cheap credit, to buy out property, in other words a share in various enterprises.

Lech Walesa advocates the creation of a firm bloc of left-wing forces in Poland, which would be dominated by a reformist spirit. This is why those who are inclined toward implacable struggle against the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] rather than toward cooperation with it were shocked by the recent meeting between the "Solidarity" leader and M. Rakowski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee. The two political figures spoke about the need for actual cooperation. The 11th PZPR Congress will be held 27 January and will be the last in its history: The party is winding up its activity. It will be immediately followed by the first constituent congress of a new party of left-wing forces with either a socialist or a social-democratic program. L. Walesa is an adherent of the viewpoint that the future structure of political and coalition forces in the country will to a large extent depend on the development of events at these party forums.

There was a sharp sound to L. Walesa's words in Gdansk that if "we fail to lead Poland out of its present difficulties through joint sensible efforts, we are threatened by civil war."

His voice is carefully heeded in Poland as that of a leader who stands outside the framework of narrow group bias. He is aware of his strength and prestige and could, for example, declare that he would support the government—even though he does not always agree with its concepts—until the "Solidarity" congress but, once the congress is over and if matters do not improve, he would do everything to ensure that new people join the government.

While criticizing everything that has happened so far, L. Walesa advocates resolute changes in Polish-Soviet relations and genuine friendship and cooperation which must be based not on dialogue between communist parties but on ties between societies and states, on full sovereignty, independence, and noninterference in one another's affairs, on doing away with "blank spots" in history. During the Gdansk meeting with USSR Ambassador to Poland V. Brovikov, he defined a range of questions whose solution would help arrive at these new relations: Clarification of the background of the talks which led to the USSR's aggression against Poland in 1939, the Katyn tragedy, and the "Moscow trial of the 16"; compensation for damage suffered by Polish citizens who lived in the eastern districts of the "Second Republic" and for injustices committed against them; and withdrawal of all Soviet troops from Poland's territory by the end of 1990.

Poland's most authoritative figure, who holds no state office at all, is arriving on a visit to Moscow. The conversation with him will certainly be interesting, even though it will probably not be easy.

Romanian Decrees on Party, Death Penalty Viewed

20 Jan IZVESTIYA

PM2301145190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 6

[Own correspondent V. Volodin dispatch: "Romania: They Will Not Catch Us Unawares Again"]

[Text] Bucharest—A dense ring of machine gunners surrounds the Romanian Foreign Ministry building in front of which a demonstration raged a week ago, forcing the [National Salvation] Front Council and the provisional government to adopt three decrees, two of which—to outlaw the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] and to hold a referendum on the restoration of the death penalty—were in direct contradiction to the principles of democracy proclaimed by the National Salvation Front [NSF].

"The decrees that have been adopted are completely contrary to the principles of democracy," M. Chircumaru, chairman of the recently reconstituted Social Democratic Party, told me. "If there is a referendum we shall vote to repeal them."

"I have never used the word 'comrade,' but I do not understand how you can outlaw a party with 3.8 million members" S. Botez, member of the National Liberal Party Executive Committee, said in bewilderment.

The referendum scheduled for 28 January will not take place. The decrees adopted under pressure were repealed at the plenary session of the NSF Council in which representatives of Romania's regions took part. As Silviu Brucan, member of the NSF Council, stated at a news conference, there were 108 votes in favor of repeal, with 4 abstentions. Participants in the session heard I. Iliescu, chairman of the NSF, D. Mazilu, first deputy chairman, and P. Roman, prime minister, who explained the circumstances in which this decision, which is contrary to the principles of the December revolution, was taken. I. Iliescu stressed that the shooting of the two Ceausescu tyrants was the last death sentence in Romania. The harshest penalties for the lickspittles of the tyrants' criminal clan will be life imprisonment in a labor camp.

Prime Minister Roman admitted responsibility for the political mistake. D. Mazilu in turn agreed that in a tense situation he had been led on by the rampaging mob. Instead of pacifying them, he had borrowed a few slogans and written the text of the decrees and in so doing had made a major political blunder. I. Iliescu and P. Roman accepted his self-criticism as sincere.

After agreeing that the decision to outlaw the RCP was absurd, the plenary session stressed that the RCP had excluded itself from the country's life through failing to oppose the Ceausescu clique, which had identified the party and the tyranny in the minds of the people. In that connection, everyone who held a high post or who continues to do so by virtue of the retention of the old structures of power will gradually be replaced. Here, however, two criteria will be taken into account—competence and moral purity, or the lack thereof.

The NSF Council has examined the draft laws on the election of the president of Romania for one or two terms and on the creation of a bicameral parliament.

Elections, according to the draft law, will be held on the basis of the free nomination of candidates from various political parties and social organizations, as well as independents, so long as at least 200 people endorse their nomination. To publicize their campaign platforms all candidates are allowed free access to radio and television. It has still not been finally established whether the president will be elected by all the people or by parliamentary deputies.

Thus the first foundation stone in the Romanian rule-of-law state has been laid. Nevertheless, many people are asking: "Will the repeal of the decrees adopted under

pressure of an excited mob not provoke a new attempt by partisan forces—who do exist—to strike a blow against the NSF?" S. Brucan answered: "They won't catch us unawares again like they did last time."

20 Jan PRAVDA

PM2301153390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Jan 90 Second Edition p 7

[Dispatch by special correspondents V. Vedrashko, Ye. Spekhov, and A. Sharyy: "Important Step. Decision To Ban Romanian Communist Party Deemed Erroneous"]

[Text] Bucharest, 19 Jan—The temperature has risen in Bucharest. The sun has become yellow, as in spring. A thaw is in full swing, and in the streets vehicles splash up muddy water from beneath their wheels. The tension in political life seems to have abated very slightly. And only the numerous army patrols, the bullet-riddled walls of buildings, and the candles burning in a setting of bunches of flowers—a sign of mourning for the dead—are a reminder of the recent tragic events.

The last stormy outburst of political emotions occurred 12 January, when the National Salvation Front [NSF] leadership, under the influence of a crowd which had gathered outside the government residence, promulgated a number of documents, including a decree outlawing the Communist Party and a decision to hold a referendum 28 January on the question of restoring the death penalty.

Those measures elicited a stormy reaction in the country. Many people—some by virtue of their political convictions, some drawing no distinction between communist ideology and the "dictatorial socialism" of Ceausescu, and some having simply not cooled down after noisy rallies in the squares—are demanding reprisals against Communist Party members. The wounds inflicted by the dictatorship are still too fresh. The country has not yet fully recovered from the December shock, and the democratic process is only beginning. And yet it seems to us that there is an ever growing realization of the fact, as the newspaper ADEVARUL wrote, that "radicalism and the resulting chaos are very dangerous for the still fragile destiny of the freedom that has just been won."

After pointing out that they were expressing their own personal viewpoint, a number of government members came out against the decrees that had been adopted. "As a political scientist I believe that such a decision harms the interests of present and future foreign policy and will have an adverse effect on the makeup of the new democratic Romania," Foreign Minister Sergiu Celac declared in this connection. Silviu Brucan, member of the NSF Council Executive Bureau, rated the ban on the Communist Party a political mistake. And here is what the writer Octavian Paler remarked in the pages of the newspaper ROMANIA LIBERA: "I am afraid that some of the revolution's romanticism was dispelled Friday evening under the spotlights of television, which impartially reflected the fact that after many years of a dictatorship of the monologue we do not know how to conduct a dialogue."

The workers of Bucharest did not have their say during the events of 12 January. In certain enterprises NSF councils restrained people from holding counterdemonstrations for lifting the ban so as to keep the peace in the city and not fuel tension. The opinion of many workers boils down to the following: An anticommunist rally is a blow to the dignity of honest people.

The evening events of 12 January are also being discussed stormily in the country because they gave rise to rumors of the Front leadership's weakness and of disagreements that had arisen in the Council Executive Committee. A session of the NSF Council was held in such a complex situation to discuss a number of important questions. Precisely 108 of the 112 Council members voted to repeal the decree on holding a referendum on the question of the death penalty and on the ban on the Communist Party. The Front leaders who spoke at the session declared that the decisions were adopted under pressure from rally participants and should be viewed as a political mistake.

"We adhere to two criteria in the placing and appointment of cadres: professional competence and moral makeup," Silviu Brucan said yesterday on addressing journalists. "The outlawing of the Communist Party runs counter to the principles proclaimed by the NSF Council during the very first hours of the revolution. Such a step is undemocratic."

And so the NSF Council has adopted a principled decision. The new power, which emerged on the wave of a popular uprising and has not yet accumulated sufficient experience of political leadership, has found within itself the courage to admit and to rectify the mistake it made. We will not undertake to say definitely what consequences the NSF Council's new statements will have: It is extremely difficult to foresee the development of the political situation. This is why Bucharest television center and the government residence are surrounded by a solid chain of submachine gunners, this is why the uncovered barrels of tank guns make the sky turn cold and why the roar of armored personnel carriers is heard in the streets.

What is the further fate of the Communist Party? This is to be decided by those Romanians who, despite everything, have preserved their faith in socialist ideals. The Front Council's new decision does not mean the rehabilitation of the Ceausescu dictatorship, which compromised itself before the people. It is a step restoring violated democratic freedoms. Will a new, renewed party of Communists that is capable of attaining authority in an equal political competition be created in the country? This depends on whether people are to be found who are prepared for a long and hard struggle to regain the people's trust.

Mostovoy Meets Visiting Romanian Minister

LD2301225590 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1556 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, 23 Jan (TASS)—Pavel Mostovoy, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, chairman of the Soviet section of the Soviet-Romanian Intergovernmental Commission for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation, today received Adrian Georgescu, the Romanian minister of the electrical engineering industry. Questions of economic cooperation between the two countries, including cooperation in the sphere of electrical engineering, were examined.

Lukyanov Receives Romanian Envoy's Credentials

LD2301185290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Vasile Sandru, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Romania, today in the Kremlin presented his credentials to Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet and candidate member of the CPSU Central committee Politburo.

He expressed sincere gratitude for the solidarity of the USSR with the just struggle of the Romanian people and for the support and aid.

The country's leadership, the ambassador noted, attaches great significance to the development of traditionally friendly and goodneighborly alliance relations. He stressed that Romania will consistently fulfill all its international obligations, first and foremost those accepted under the Warsaw Pact.

Receiving the credentials, Comrade Lukyanov expressed the certainty that resting on the previously developed potential of our interaction, we will be able to fill Soviet-Romanian cooperation with a new quality.

Yugoslav Communists Hold 14th Emergency Congress

CPSU Sends Greetings

PM2301163590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Jan 90 Second Edition p 6

[CPSU Central Committee undated greetings to 14th (Emergency) Congress of League of Communists of Yugoslavia]

[Text] To the 14th (Emergency) Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY]

Dear Comrades!

On behalf of the CPSU we cordially greet the delegates to the 14th LCY Congress.

The concerns of Yugoslav Communists connected with the search for innovative ways out of the difficulties which the country is experiencing and their determination to implement urgent social transformations in the interests of the peoples and ethnic groups of the SFRY are near and intelligible to our party. Soviet Communists voice solidarity with the course of the LCY, which makes it its aim to rally all sociopolitical forces dedicated to the socialist choice within the framework of the Yugoslav federation and to renew the political and economic system of self-management.

We value the growing trust and mutual understanding between the CPSU and the LCY and their fruitful cooperation on urgent problems of creating democratic socialism and are ready to continue jointly enriching it with new forms and substance in accordance with the demands of the times.

We wholeheartedly wish the 14th LCY Congress success. May the cooperation between our parties and countries strengthen at a crucial stage in the development of socialism and the building of a secure and nonviolent world.

CPSU Central Committee

PRAVDA Reports Congress

PM2301130590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jan 90 Second Edition p 5

[Dispatch by PRAVDA and TASS correspondents Ye. Fadeyev, A. Bocharov, and V. Kuznetsov: "Compromise or Split?"]

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Jan—A principled, businesslike talk about the country's urgent problems and about the party's tasks in the further development of democracy and the elimination of stagnation phenomena in the SFRY economy is in its third day at the 14th (extraordinary) League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Congress.

"More democracy, more socialism"—these words can be heard quite often under the vaults of the vast auditorium of the "Sava Center" palace of congresses in Belgrade. But that, as they say, is one side of the coin. To be fair it must be said that fierce polemics are also under way between delegates representing the six republics and two autonomous provinces, the painful process is under way of reassessing entrenched ideas about forms of the organization of the state and the development of society, a persistent quest is under way for ways of renewing the Yugoslav model of socialist self management and emerging from the labyrinth of interethnic problems, and the trends and avenues of reforms in the economy, the political system, and the party are being determined in heated debates.

Discussion on the main avenues of fundamental transformations in the three subject-related commissions has frequently acquired a keenly polemic nature and has avoided the essence of the questions on the agenda, turning into a sharp exchange of opinions between representatives of individual republican party organizations defending "their" national interests and "their" concepts of the future model of the party.

On Sunday afternoon the delegation from the League of Communists of Slovenia demanded in a special statement an immediate end to the discussion in the commissions which, in its opinion, "is leading to an impasse which could be followed by the collapse of a unified LCY." This document, local observers note, is in the form of an ultimatum regarding the need to reorganize the LCY and turn it into "a union of independent republican party organizations." TANJUG has reported that at its session, which lasted about 4 hours, the congress working presidium examined this initiative and adopted the decision that the congress continue its work in the commissions in accordance with the approved rules. At the same time it was recommended to the commissions that they focus attention on the congress documents and specific remarks and additions to them and also that they complete their work Monday.

Without going into the details of the fierce dispute between the congress delegates from Slovenia and Serbia, it may be said that there has been a head-on collision between two different concepts concerning the further development both of the SFRY and of the LCY. The supporters of the first concept are gambling on the nation and the state, the supporters of the second on Yugoslavia and its unity.

"The LCY's future rests on the unity of its ranks," was the reply given by the majority of delegates to the supreme party forum to the question in a questionnaire distributed here by TANJUG. The poll was conducted in connection with an initiative from the League of Communists of Slovenia—one of the eight republican and provincial organizations—which expressed itself in favor of the LCY's further development as a union of independent parties.

To judge by the ideological confrontation and mutual accusations from the congress rostrum, differences are being aggravated on views of the future of Yugoslavia and the role of the LCY under the conditions of new democratic aspirations. Moreover, a very tense atmosphere has taken shape. Uncertainty, concern, and fears for the discussion's final outcome are characteristic of the majority of delegates. Some voice the opinion that the congress' work has proceeded along "the wrong path" and that the leadership of individual republics (Slovenia and Serbia) is trying, come what may, to turn it from the true path, while others are asking whether the congress will be completed.

In the corridors people are already speaking about the option which has emerged whose essence is that several delegations are prepared to put forward the demand that the LCY be divided into two parts: a party of social democrats and a party of left-wing forces headed by the communists. The congress' concluding plenary session will show whether something "worse" will happen, something which is being combated by many of the forum's delegates "as yet unpoisoned by interethnic reprisals." The telegrams reaching the congress from all corners of the country graphically attest to the fact that the communists and broad circles of working people are alarmed at the course of the discussion and demand that the LCY find strength within itself and emerge from "the abyss in which it has found itself."

At the plenary session the congress delegates must approve the forum documents, including the LCY declaration entitled "New Draft of Democratic Socialism in Yugoslavia," must decide to introduce amendments to the party statute and to elaborate a new LCY program and statute, and must elect a new Central Committee and other leading organs of the LCY. The opinion is being voiced that the vast amount of work the delegates have to perform will scarcely be completed within a day and the congress may therefore be continued on Tuesday.

West Europe

Finland's Paasio on Pan-European Conference

LD2301132190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0930 GMT 23 Jan 90

[From "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Preparations for a new meeting of pan-European conference member-countries have started. Our corresponent reports from Helsinki.

[E. Anupyld] The Finland marble palace went down in history after hosting, in 1975, the historic meeting of 35 states. The new phrase, the Helsinki Process, appeared in the vocabulary of international politics. This process is growing stronger and deeper and acquiring a new content, which includes great changes and the energetic renewal of the political and economic situation in Europe. How have the new initiatives aimed at accelerating the pan-European process been recieved here? We spoke about this with Pertti Paasio, Finland's minister of foreign affairs.

[Begin Paasio recording in Finnish, with superimposed Russian translation] The proposal on convening an pan-European summit, which President Gorbachev first put forward in Strasbourg and specified later, has evoked a broad resonance. The whole essence of the pan-European process consists of consolidating security and ensuring Europe's stable development through joint efforts, in the interests of all the participants. Mauno Koivisto, Finland's president, gave his support to convening such a summit. We do not exclude that the summit can be timed with the pan-European conference in 1992, as it was written down in the joint Soviet-Finnish declaration during President Gorbachev's visit to Finland. On the other hand, the possibility of holding the summit as early as this year is becoming more and more feasible. Finland welcomes and supports such an initiative. We support the development of the process itself and stress the need for all 35 member-countries of the pan-European conference to participate in such a meeting. [end recording]

Mixed Science Commission With Spain Meets

LD2301221190 Moscow TASS in English 2108 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 23 TASS—By TASS correspondent Georgiy Meizerov:

The seventh session of the Soviet-Spanish mixed commission on scientific and technical cooperation, which opened here today, will analyse the results of its work and outline prospects for bilateral cooperation.

Speaking at the opening ceremony, commision co-chairman and deputy chairman of the Soviet State Committee for Science and Technology Kirill Dyumaev said that the major tasks of the session is not merely to sum up results and outline prospects for scientific and technical cooperation between the Soviet Union and Spain and discuss a long-term program for bilateral cooperation in this sphere.

The session must also consider these issues in the light of the upcoming Spanish visit of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev.

Dyumaev praised the present state of Soviet-Spanish scientific and technical relations. Cooperation in fundamental and applied research, health care, railway transport, geology and studies in the mining industry has been considerably stepped up.

At the same time, the Soviet Union and Spain use only part of their cooperation potential. The Soviet side believes that all prerequisites have been created for broader bilateral interaction in all spheres, including science and technology.

Reportage on Visit of UK Minister of State

Waldegrave Assesses Talks

LD2301220790 Moscow TASS in English 2001 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 23 TASS—William Waldegrave, the British minister of state for foreign and Commonwealth affairs, assessed his visit in the Soviet Union as very useful. He arrived in the Soviet Union in the framework of Soviet-British political consultations.

The British minister of state told a news conference here today that he was received by First Deputy Soviet foreign Minister Yuliy Vorontsov, and by Deputy Foreign Ministers Anatoliy Adamishin and Viktor Karpov. He said he had visited the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and was received by chief of the International Department Valentin Falin.

Waldegrave said he thought he had been the first British minister of state to visit the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and he believed this attests to the deepening of Soviet-British relations.

He said that a new factor in relations between political leaders of Great Britain and the Soviet Union is that they discuss ever more openly regional problems such as the Middle East, the situation in the south of Africa, the events in Europe and the creation of a new structure of European security.

Asked how the British government assesses the bringing of troops into Baku, the British minister of state said his government recognises the right of any state to restore order within the country with lowest possible loss of life.

On the same day Waldegrave visited the Supreme Soviet and had the conversations at the Committees for International Affairs and for Questions of Legislation and Law.

At his request Soviet parliamentarians told him about the situation in Transcaucasia, and about the work of the commission of the Supreme Soviet drafting new bills, specifically those related to the mechanism of granting economic and political independence to union republics.

Visits Supreme Soviet Committees

LD2301221290 Moscow TASS in English 2127 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 23 TASS—British minister of state for foreign and commonwealth affairs William Waldegrave, staying in Moscow, had a meeting today with representatives of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committees for International Affairs and for Questions of Legislation and Law.

At his request, the British minister of state was told about the pace of perestroyka processes in the whole country and in union republics, about the efforts taken by the party, state and government bodies to harmonise inter-ethnic relations and put an end to ethnic strife in Azerbaijan and Armenia.

The deputies expressed gratitude to public forces abroad which do not support manifestations of separatism in union republics.

The conversation passed in an open and friendly atmosphere. USSR People's Deputies Vitaliy Goldanskiy, Ivan Laptev, Konstantin Lubenchenko, Andrey Sebentsov, as well as British Ambassador to the Soviet Union Rodric Quentin Braithwaite participated in the conversation.

A conversation between Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Viktor Karpov and Waldegrave was held on the same day at the Soviet Foreign Ministry in the framework of Soviet-British political consultations.

The approaches of the sides to the problems of arms limitation and reduction and the state of affairs at the main disarmament forums were discussed.

The sides confirmed the intention to step up bilateral and multilateral efforts to work out appropriate international arrangements.

Latin America & Caribbean

U.S. 'Subversive' Broadcasting to Cuba Viewed

PY2301162090 Moscow in Spanish to Cuba 0130 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Vladimir Korotkov commentary]

[Text] Foreign news agencies have repeatedly reported that the U.S. plans to go on with its project of subversive television broadcasts to Cuba. This is what Vladimir Korotkov has to say on the matter:

The United States has not dropped the idea of unleashing a real television war against Cuba. The idea was supported by the U.S. Congressional approval of large sums to foster the project. What is it all about? Why is the present U.S. administration so determined to create a new tension spot and strain U.S.-Cuban relations even more?

Washington's true intentions were unmasked when a secret document entitled "Santa Fe Dos" was made public. The document establishes U.S. objectives in Latin American.

In the chapter on Cuba we can read that the U.S. intends to increase its television broadcasting to Cuba in order to contribute to the creation of a democratic regime there—they mean a government that the United States finds convenient. The document says that for that purpose Marti television broadcasting should be accelerated.

As you can see, my friends, the document is openly cynical and violates all international laws, including the UIT—International Telecommunications Union—agreement that was signed by the United States in Nairobi. In these cases it is usually said that the end justifies the means. The Unites States will again use the same imperial style that it used in Panama.

Cuba, as its leaders have repeatedly stated, will not stay idle while its sovereignty is trampled on. The country has all the necessary technical means to provide an adequate answer. A U.S. radio and television association expert characterized the TV Marti project as irrational because simple sound equipment in Cuba can reduce it effectiveness to zero.

A U.S. CNN televison network station broadcast a declaration from Wayne Smith [not further identified] threatening Cuba with surgical radiowave bombardment if Cuba adopts defensive measures. How can anyone make such an irresponsible declaration? Washington continues with its policy of increasing confrontation with Cuba.

Panama's Minister Linares on Foreign Relations

LD2301140290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0818 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Panama [dateline as received]—TASS correspondents Eldar Abdullayev and Aleksandr Chernov report: The Panamanian Government is in favor of establishing and maintaining friendly ties with all the countries of the world. This was pointed out by Julio Linares, Panama's minister of foreign affairs, in an interview with the TASS correspondents. In answer to a question as to whether the new Panamanian authorities intend to confirm the treaties of the former government of the Republic, including a trade agreement with the USSR ratified at the end of 1988, the minister stressed that it is necessary to study all the documents carefully in accordance with the laws of Panama.

The democratic processes taking place in Eastern Europe and the exceptionally progressive role the USSR, which has become the initiator and conductor of these historic changes, is playing there, make rapprochement between our countries more realistic and more expedient, noted J. Linares. Establishing diplomatic relations between Panama and the Soviet Union would be a favorable factor for the situation in the Central American region and for improving the international climate as a whole.

The government of Panama will endeavor to maintain good relations with Cuba and Nicaragua, which had close links to the previous authorities. The possibility of retaining diplomatic relations with these states depends on the position these countries adopt in relation to the new government of Panama, J. Linares pointed out.

Transcaucasus Situation

Moscow Blast Not Linked to Interethnic Strife

LD2401132190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Text] [Announcer] Our special correspondent Anatoliy Fedorov is at the microphone in connection with a rumor:

[Fedorov] A rumor was stubbornly going around Moscow yesterday and today in connection with an explosion which occurred about noon yesterday in one of the housing blocks adjacent to the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs academy building. Many people are linking this explosion with the interethnic conflict in the Transcaucasus. However, I received the following information today in the Main Directorate of Internal Affairs of Moscow City Executive Committee, from Militia Captain Vladimir Vladimirovich (Martynov), head of the press group:

[Begin recording] [(Martynov)] An explosion did indeed take place at 1130 on 23 January on Zoya Kosmodemyanskaya Ulitsa, No. 6, entry No. 3, in the ground floor staircase well. A man was trying to dismantle a homemade explosive device, contained in a plastic bag containing the liquid substance chloropicrin. This substance is used to test the hermetic seal of gas masks. The man was taken to the hospital for medical treatment with a large wound to the left knee. A considerable concentration of chlorpicrin was caused by the explosion in the entry hall. The militia men and fire service which arrived on the scene evacuated 16 people from the section of the block of apartments: of these, 5 children aged between 14 months and 9 years old, and 3 adults have been admitted to the hospital for observation.

In the course of investigation, it has been established that the explosive device was made by this man with the aim of robbing a bank in Moscow. He explained that at 1115 he went into the railway department of the USSR Stroybank, which is situated in the same building, intending to rob it. However, at the last moment he changed his mind because of the large number of people there, and tried to disarm the explosive device in entry No. 3.

This explosion has absolutely nothing to do with any interethnic conflicts whatsoever, nor, in the case at issue, with organized crime.

[Fedorov] Vladimir Vladimirovich, what can you say about the personality of this man, let us call him G.

[(Martynov)] I can say of him that he was born in 1962, Russian by nationality, he was passing through Moscow on vacation from the GDR to the town of (Blagoveshchensk). While the investigation is under way, we can give no more details about him. [end recording]

'Open Resistance' to Normalization in Azerbaijan

LD2401131190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1155 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow 24 Jan (TASS)—Special TASS correspondents report:

The situation in Azerbaijan and Armenia continues to remain tense. The USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs reported today that the measures to normalize the situation are meeting open resistance in Azerbaijan by extremist groupings. Resorting to the most improbable rumors and fabrications, direct blackmail and threats, and the use of weapons, the provocateurs are seeking to sow anti-Russian and anti-Armenian moods among the population, and are taking unlawful actions aimed at further exacerbating the situation.

In Baku and many rural regions of Azerbaijan, industrial enterprises still are not operating, and transportation and retail amenities are being conducted on a limited basis. A total of 189 freight trains, 109 of them intended for Armenia, are standing idle on Azerbaijan railways.

Fires broke out on 23 January in the capital of Azerbaijan in the Azeragrodostroy design and construction association and the Azgiprozem State Institute For Land Tenure Regulations as a result of weapons fire.

In the Azerbaijan towns of Gyandzha and Geokchay there have been sorrowful meetings at which demands were put forward for the revocation of the curfew, and the expulsion from the republic of representatives of Armenian nationality.

The blockade of highways continues in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast of Azerbaijan. Freight trains are not arriving at Stepanakert railway station.

The USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs press center reported that attempts to steal firearms are continuing in Armenia. There have been attacks on sentries of the mobilized guard, departments of internal affairs, and other facilities. Great Patriotic War museum exhibits have been stolen from the grounds of Yerevan's Victory Park: a non-battle-worthy tank, 2 76-mm guns and one antiaircraft gun, 2 light machine guns and 2 mortars, 7 hail control guns, 1,604 hail control rounds, more than 300 rockets and warheads, and 9 bullet-proof vests have been stolen from the grounds of one of the hail control stations.

Law enforcement units are working to foil provocative rumors and conjectures in the seizure and the voluntary surrender of weapons. More than 1,300 hunting rifles, and also 11 trucks which had earlier been hijacked, have been returned to departments of internal affairs of a number of Armenian rayons.

Fourteen freight trains, (352 cars, including 179 tankers containing petrochemical products) have travelled to Armenia via Sadakhlo station of the Transcaucasus Railway.

Road Blocks 'Lifted' for Convoys

LD2401125590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Text] Today, one can describe the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh and around it as relatively calm. It was reported at the temporary press center of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs that, in the region of the state of emergency, subunits of internal troops and the Soviet Army and the internal affairs bodies have, over the last 24 hours, taken measures to stabilize the situation in the autonomous oblast and neighboring rayons. In particular, the blockades have been lifted on the Stepanakert-Agdam-Barda-Yevlakh-Udzhary road and the Shusha-Stepanakert-Agdam road. The civilian population took an active part in this. This was helped to a great extent by meetings held with the residents of a number of inhabited localities by the party, local soviet, and economic aktiv of the oblast and of neighboring rayons of Azerbaijan and representatives of certain informal organizations. However, one should also bear in mind the fact that the blockade has been lifted on the roads only for convoys of military vehicles. Civilian trucks are still not taking the risk of driving on a number of roads. As before, the railway is out of action and communications are not working.

Subunits of internal troops and the internal affairs bodies are continuing to implement the decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on the declaration of a state of emergency in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and certain other rayons. A number of operations are planned in the immediate future to check passport procedures in the area of the state of emergency. The lifting of road blockades continues. Over the past 24 hours, ten people have been detained for violating the curfew.

NKAO Deputies Appeal to Supreme Soviet

NC2401133190 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1000 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Text] The struggling and heroic people of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO], which never succumbs in the face of difficulties, have been under a blockade for the last 2 years. Even now, under conditions of a state of emergency, they are continuing to live and struggle with the full confidence that no power—and by this we mean the Azeri extremists—will be able to break their will.

The (?luminous) dream of Artsakh [NKAO] is permanent unity with the motherland. If this is not a reality now, it will become so in the near future. The indomitable will [word indistinct]. However, the blockade, which is continuing under the conditions of a state of emergency, has greatly aggravated the situation in Stepanakert and the entire oblast.

The USSR people's deputies from the oblast and a number of leaders of the oblast soviet bodies, prompted by their desire to extricate the oblast from this grave situation, have sent cables to the USSR Supreme Soviet and international organizations and have appealed to the international community to raise its voice of protest in support of Artsakh.

Yes, the Armenians of Artsakh are living through very difficult days. This is not the first time these heroic people have faced such a situation. The Azeribajani extremists intended to strike terror and fear in people's hearts by organizing massacres in Baku and thus achieve their goals of subjugating the people of Artsakh and forcing them to abandon their legitimate demands. Such efforts are doomed to fail.

Oh courageous and heroic people of Artsakh, courageous [word indistinct], justice will triumph.

Details of Appeal

LD2401072390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0537 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Telephone call from correspondent Leonid Lazarevich in Baku—live]

[Text] [Announcer] Now for news on the situation in Azerbaijan. Leonid Lazarevich, our special correspondent in Baku, has made telephone contact with the Mayak studio. Good morning!

[Lazarevich] (?For the n'th time), it isn't a good morning for me. It is a bad morning again. There is mournful music in my hotel room. It is grief for those who have perished in Baku. It is very difficult when innocent people perish. Yesterday, I was (?one of) the few who had in their hands the decisions and appeal adopted at the extraordinary session of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet. Those decisions noted that the introduction of troops into Baku violated the conditions of the treaty on the formation of the USSR and our country's constitution. The decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet was evaluated as aggression against sovereign Azerbaijan. The session demanded the immediate cancellation of the state of emergency in all regions of the republic, except for Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and regions bordering on Armenia. It was decided to set up a commission of deputies to clarify who were the direct organizers of the events which occurred in the night of 19 to 20 January, when the troops were brought into Baku. The decision notes that if union bodies do not give a positive response to the session's decisions, it will continue its work and start discussing the question of whether it is expedient for Azerbaijan to maintain union relations with the USSR.

Apart from this, the session adopted an appeal to the peoples of the USSR, the Supreme Soviet, the Supreme Soviets of union republics, organizations, associations and [word indistinct]. I have read that document. It contains many heated and [word indistinct] words, which are very hard to understand. You know, it is difficult for me to say this. All the same, it surprises me that these decisions and these words were spoken before

the commission set up by the Supreme Soviet of Azerbaijan has started its work. Just think, I do not believe that everything that has happened in Baku—all the servicemen's actions in this city—was within their legal entitlement, but I feel that a great deal in this decision (?was adopted) under the influence of rumors. Rumors are very terrible. We need truth, absolute truth, in everything.

There is one more thing that I want to say. Virtually nobody has absolutely reliable information here in Baku. The fact is that the television is not functioning and newspapers are not coming out. People are in the power of emotions, and they do not know, they do not possess reliable facts, and that is extremely difficult.

It is also difficult for us central press journalists to work. We are deprived of the most elementary and simple opportunities to obtain information. We have no transport. We do not have the opportunity to go everywhere we would like—and that is so necessary and so essential.

One more thing. The city has found itself in a very difficult situation in connection with the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet's decision. Rumors that the troops are on the point of leaving are multiplying and spreading incessantly. There is a great deal of gossip in the republic in connection with that. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet decided to send the troops in, and only the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet can decide on their withdrawal. That decision can also be adopted by the Supreme Soviet itself and the Congress of USSR People's Deputies. I feel that in this situation in Baku, we need the people's deputies. I believe in them, I believe in those people whom we elected in [word indistinct] and free elections.

[Announcer] Thank you for your account. I believe our listeners will forgive us for the quality of the technical line, but what can we do? That's the sort of line there is, and I think that you understood the words and have an idea of what is happening on the territory of Azerbaijan now.

Baku Commandant Bans Strikes, Demonstrations

NC2301181490 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1703 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Order by Lieutenant General Dubinyak, military commandant of Baku, dated 23 January—read by announcer]

[Text] Attention! This is an order from the military commandant of Baku, dated 23 January 1990:

Public law and order has been heeded since the state of emergency was declared and the curfew imposed in Baku. However, a number of organized groups in the city are causing undesirable developments in order to disrupt complete peace in the city.

On the basis of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium's decision, dated 15 January 1990, I order:

1. Strikes, meetings, rallies, and demonstrations in Baku City shall be banned.

2. Individuals who violate this decision, including those who disrupt public law and order and spread rumors, shall be detained for 30 days or brought to court.

3. The Popular Front's National Defense Committee shall be abolished.

4. The fulfillment of this order has been assigned to the field commanders.

Lieutenant General Dubinyak, military commandant of Baku City.

Says Shooting Must Stop

PM2301194590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 24 Jan 90 First Edition p 1

[Interview with Lieutenant General V. Dubinyak, military commandant in Baku, by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA special correspondent Captain 3d Rank A. Orlov: "Emotions Do Not Solve Things"]

[Text] Baku, 22 Jan—[Orlov] Comrade Lieutenant General, the introduction of the state of emergency in Baku provoked a negative reaction among some of the population and measures to introduce the forces of law and order met with organized resistance, including armed resistance. It is a source of common misery that people have been killed and injured....

[Dubinyak] Extending the operation of the USSR Supreme Soviet Decree on Announcing a State of Emergency to the city of Baku is an extreme, forced measure, which is intended to ensure citizens' safety and to suppress illegal actions. I was appointed commandant of the special district by order of the chief of the internal troops. As for the casualties, by urging the population of Baku to protest against the introduction of a curfew in the city, the extremists themselves effectively created the atmosphere for the state of emergency. They put up armed opposition when the forces of law and order were brought in. Casualties resulted from this. It is hard to find the words to express my condolences to the people of the most different nationalities, whose families are beset by grief today.

[Orlov] How do you assess the current situation in the city?

[Dubinyak] It is extremely tense. Shots are heard from time to time in some areas of Baku. The troops now have taken under their protection some of the city's main vital facilities. Steps are being taken to secure the state of emergency. A curfew is being imposed. It is operating above all in the interests of the citizens themselves. I express my gratitude to all Baku's inhabitants whose behavior is having a stabilizing effect. However, rallies continue during the day in the city in violation of the state of emergency regulations.

The situation is, I repeat, tense. I particularly want to emphasize that we are doing everything to ensure that it is defused and rule out more casualties, even small numbers....

[Orlov] Interethnic relations have particularly deteriorated in recent days, leaving aside anti-Army sentiments. There are soldiers' families in the city. The first question they ask when I meet them is about guarantees of safety.

[Dubinyak] Yes, that problem is, unfortunately, a real one. We have been forced to take precautionary measures using troops—we have introduced guards on homes and camps where servicemen's families are living. But I know of the traditionally good relations between Azerbaijanis and Russians, Ukrainians, Belorussians, and people of other nationalities. After all, it was certainly not the Azerbaijani people who organized the pogroms against Baku's Armenian residents but people who have been blinded and have forgotten about international traditions. I believe that the people of Baku will not allow the blackest emotions to take over.

[Orlov] Today is a time when there must be dialogue, albeit difficult dialogue. Is such dialogue taking place?

[Dubinyak] Yes, we are striving to achieve it. We are always open to dialogue. I believe we could have achieved more if there had been fewer of the categorical statements and ultimatums that some people are delivering. After all, it is a common task to look after people, people's lives, human ties, and relations.

[Orlov] People have accumulated a host of questions because there has been a drastic decline in information availability owing to the explosion at the television center and the nonpublication of newspapers. The population derives highly distorted and simply provocative information from discussions, and at various rallies. What steps are being taken here?

[Dubinyak] Efforts are above all being made to restore television transmissions. I would point out that radio broadcasting in Baku was resumed by the military—at 0600 hours 20 January. This consisted of an appeal from the commandant to the population. The commandant's office is producing and circulating pamphlets and appeals in order to implement explanatory, informational work. Where possible, we are trying to conduct explanatory work among the population using political workers. Mobile public address systems are being used, including helicopters. But some people do not like calm, albeit bitter, talk designed to seek mutual understanding. Thus, the helicopter distributing pamphlets came under submachinegun fire. The pilot was wounded.

[Orlov] Baku is not now receiving KRASNAYA ZVEZDA or the other central newspapers. Today a military aircraft delivered newspapers for the first time in several days. So let us hope that things go right and the people of Baku are able to read our discussion. What could you tell them personally?

[Dubinyak] First of all, I want them to know that I respect laboring, open, wise Baku. That is why I consider it necessary to repeat over and over today: It is not emotions that will determine when the shooting will end on the streets of Baku. It must stop completely. Forever. We invite everyone to cooperate for the sake of this.

Notes Several Detained

NC2401072890 Baku Domestic Service in Russian 0605 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Notice from Baku military commandant—read by announcer]

[Text] We now bring you the notice from the Baku military commandant which was originally broadcast at 0800 hours [0400 GMT]:

The situation in Baku city remained relatively calm last night. There were no victims.

In the last 24 hours 1 person was detained for a crime, 53 for administrative violations, and 57 [as heard] for violating the curfew.

Issues Notice, Urges Calm

NC2301181290 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1615 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Notice by Lieutenant General Dubinyak, military commandant of Baku City—read by announcer]

[Text] Attention! The situation became strained in the city today. Strikes continue in the entire city. Most establishments are not operating, and the city's transportation is at a standstill.

Unnecessary rumors have been spread by inconsiderate individuals. [words indistinct] Unknown individuals have fired at [word indistinct] and machinery. There has been firing from the religious school's buildings. Luckily, no one has been harmed. [words indistinct]

A criminal invstigation into all this has been launched.

I urge Baku residents to be cautious and patient and to try not to disrupt public law and order. We are doing everything possible to prevent the life, honor, and [word indistinct] of each and every Soviet citizen from being harmed. We shall continue to do so. Those who breach public law and order and who are false witnesses, and spread rumors are being detained for 30 days. They will be brought before the law.

I wish to repeat that the deadline to surrender arms is 0900 on 25 January. Citizens who surrender their firearms will not be held responsible.
Lieutenant General Dubinyak, military commandant of Baku.

Says Night 'Relatively Peaceful'

NC2401072090 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0404 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Notice from military commandant of Baku city—read by announcer]

[Text] Attention! The situation in Baku was relatively peaceful last night. No one (?was killed). Fifty-two individuals were detained for violating the curfew.
Lieutenant General Dubinyak, internal affairs, commandant of Baku city

Reports 'No New Casualties'

LD2401073990 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0720 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Baku, 24 Jan (TASS)—The situation in the Azerbaijani capital remained calm last night. There are no new casualties. This is stated in a report by Lieutenant General Vladimir Dubinyak, military commandant of the special region of the city of Baku, broadcast on local radio this morning. In the last 24 hours, one person has been detained in the city for crimes, 57 for violations of the curfew, and 53 for administrative violations. One firearm and three non-firearm weapons have been confiscated by servicemen. Forty-three people have been detained, and duplicating equipment, technical devices for propaganda, passports, and saving bank books have been confiscated as a result of the execution of measures to neutralize the headquarters of informal organizations operating illegally. [passage omitted]

Expresses Gratitude

LD2301113690 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1022 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, 23 Jan (TASS)—The situation in the capital of Azerbaijan remains tense, despite the state of emergency there. There are no enterprises working today, nor is there any public transport, apart from the subway. Print workers as well as staff at all editorial offices are on strike.

As Lieutenant General Vladimir Dubinyak, Baku's military commander, stated in an interview published in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, sporadic shooting can be heard in certain parts of the town. Troops have partially put under guard the town's vitally important installations. The commander expressed gratitude to all the people of Baku whose behaviour is exercising a stabilizing influence. However, meetings are continuing in the town, in violation of the rules of the state of emergency.

According to USSR Internal Affairs Ministry figures, 83 people have died in Baku since the state of emergency was introduced. That includes 69 civilians and extremists. Fifty-six service personnel have been wounded, as have four militia men, while 292 civilians have been hospitalized, with a total of 535 having been registered as wounded.

Extremist elements are continuing to commit excesses in towns and villages in Azerbaijan. A crowd of frenzied thugs sacked the party raykom building in the town of Pushkino and destroyed a monument to Lenin. A radar tracking station has been attacked in the Nakhichevan area.

Measures to put extremists from the so-called "Karabakh Movement" in administrative detention are continuing in Stepanakert. They include two people suspected of organizing and carrying out the taking of hostages.

Threats against Kurds living in Masisskiy, Sevanskiy, and Razdanskiy Rayons in the Armenian republic have become more frequent recently. According to our information, there are several cases of terrorists from various informal organizations acting together with criminal elements to sieze weapons.

At the same time, there are also cases when the measures being taken to settle the conflict are producing some effect. Voluntary surrendering of weapons is becoming more widespread in Armenia. There has been a meeting of representatives of the party and state leadership of Armenia and Azerbaijan in the village of Yeraskh in Araratskiy rayon. To avoid any further escalation of the conflict, it has been decided to make joint efforts to stop the shooting and clashes, to withdraw armed groups from border areas, restore damaged rail communications, and open rail traffic to Armenia and Azerbaijan.

The past 24 hours have seen an emerging tendency toward a reduction in the number of violations of the USSR state border.

As a result of the rail blockade, the fuel supply situation in Armenia is complex. According to a representative of the republic's power service, there is a shortage of fuel oil for thermal power stations and there has been a sharp reduction in gas supplies arriving in Armenia through neighboring Azerbaijan.

To avoid freezing power stations, their capacities have been reduced and that has led to a virtual shut down at large and small enterprises in the republic. Electricity consumption in the republic has been reduced to the summer level even though the weather is cold in Armenia.

Grants 21 Jan Interview

LD2301130190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0930 GMT 23 Jan 90

[From "Vremya"]

[Excerpt] [Announcer] The most important and dramatic events here are currently taking place in the Transcaucasus. Before you see recent information, we would like to go back to the events of the 20th. This is to restore a chronological sequence of events as they actually occurred. Why it is only now that we have the

possibility of showing this reportage you will understand from what our correspondent has to say:

[Ganiyev] We took these pictures during the night of 20 January. A curfew is in operation in Baku, between the hours of 1100 in the evening and 0400 in the morning. What is happening in the city at the moment is like an awful dream, but it is real and a cruel reality at that. Burned-out frames of vehicles loaded with sand and concrete. As early as 19 January these were blocking off the main roads. Hundreds of thousands of people blocked traffic on the roads. Now the barricades have been dismantled. There are military posts on the streets. Telephone links betwen towns are working intermittently. The guerillas have blown up the power installation of the local television station. Apart from the subway, public transport is at a standstill. The only trading is at the local market.

The morning of 21 January was sunny and like spring but for the people of Baku it was a morning of alarm and mourning. There are black flags on many buildings and cars. The People's Front of Azerbaijan has announced 3 days of mourning in the Republic. People are filing toward the Central Committee building. Many thousands of people are at a meeting there. The soldiers currently serving here, and I will say this right away, serving in very difficult conditions, are ordinary young men from all over our country. They asked us to tell the whole truth: "We are not the enemies of the Azerbaijani people. We are here to prevent the violence from continuing." I would like in particular to say that it is early yet to draw any conclusions or to blame anyone. Only time, reason, and the people's endurance can judge everything that has happened here or could yet happen. Let me stress that it is still a long way to calm in Baku. Blood is still flowing and sometimes it is that of innocent people. [video shows nighttime, tanks in street, soldiers on steps, burned-out cars and trucks, close-up of soldiers in tank, a burst pipe, early morning scenes, black flags, people walking in one direction in the street. soldiers en masse and running across a street]

There has been shooting throughout the day in various parts of the city. In the area of the Salyanskiy barracks fighting was almost constant. The shots are coming from the windows of those houses. We took these pictures from the car window. It is not safe to go on the streets with an ordinary camera much less a video camera. The evacuation of residents from Baku continues at the moment. [video shows the houses, scenes of the streets taken through the car window.]

[Begin recording] [Ganiyev to Baku Commandant Dubinyak, identified by screen caption as 21 January interview] General, what is the situation to date? The people of the country are following it and are awaiting news of the latest events from the competent bodies.

[V.S. Dubinyak] Well, I can tell you that the first night of the curfew was calm. Not one person from the local population has suffered. We have detained 18 people. As a rule, these people were drunk and without documents. One Makarov gun has been confiscated as has a hunting weapon.

[Ganiyev] We have seen firing this morning. How did it end in the area of the barracks?

[Dubinyak] There is a group of guerillas active in that area. As a military unit is being put together there, it constantly leads to a conflict situation. We have now taken measures to put a stop to their sorties. A sub-unit has been dispatched and I think the conflict has been settled.

[Ganiyev] As far as I know, medical aid is being fully provided and doctors from other towns even have been mobilized.

[Dubinyak] That's right. We have helped the Azerbaijan Minstry of Health so that teams of doctors and medicines could be delivered from Bina Airport. Qualified aid is also being provided at the city's treatment facilities and at garrison hospitals.

[Ganiyev] How influential are the forces of the People's Front and what is the ordinary people of the city's toward them?

[Dubinyak] It is influential you know, since each day, a crowd of 35,000 to 40,000 gathers in the square outside the Central Committee building. Slogans are heard, some are anti-Soviet.

[Ganiyev] Tell me, please. Are they any residents of Armenian nationality in Baku today?

[Dubinyak] There are and we are continuing the evacuation. This possibility has now been reduced, however and we are trying to organize the introduction of patrols from the posts and are paying particular attention to places in which Armenians live to guarantee their safety.

[Ganiyev] What do you think needs to be done to stop the bloodshed?

[Dubinyak] I think that the most realistic path is that of dialogue. (end recording] [passage omitted]

Yerevan Garrison Commandant on 'Distorted' Report

NC2301162990 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 23 Jan 90

["Statement by Yerevan Garrison Commandant"—ARMENPRES headline]

[Text] Yerevan, 23 Jan (ARMENPRES)—On 21 January 1990, a TASS statement was read on the "7 Days" television program alleging that there is anti-Army sentiment in the Armenian Republic. We consider this information to be distorted.

The leaders of the troops stationed in the republic have no connection with that information. Such statements

only exacerbate deterioration in relations between the population and the servicemen.
Yerevan, 23 January.

General Describes Armenian Situation as Calm

NC2301220390 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1700 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Major General (?Peteskin), who is supervising the tense situation in the region arising from the acute interethnic relations, met with representatives of rayon party, soviet, and economic aktivs in Goris. He came to Goris from Baku and provided detailed information about the developments there. He said before the state of emergency was introduced in Baku, the army exerted all efforts to resolve the conflict peacefully by issuing warnings and called in vain on extremist forces to come to reason. In response to the army's efforts, they opened fire on the troops who, unfortunately, suffered losses. There was no alternative left but to [word indistinct].

Despite the prevailing situation, the general expressed hope that the situation will become normal by the joint efforts of the Soviet Army and law enforcement bodies.

Speaking about the situation in Armenia, in particular in Zangezur [Armenian name for southern region of Armenia], he mentioned that the situation in general is calm despite occasional fighting and exchanges of fire. The border is being protected by the joint efforts of the army, militia, and [word indistinct] units. Relations between the population and the Army are friendly.

Armenians Criticize Army Actions in Baku

AU2301174490 Paris AFP in English 1726 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, Jan 23 (AFP)—Armenian nationalists Tuesday accused the Soviet Army of intervening in the strife-torn Azerbaijan capital Baku to shore up Soviet power rather than save Armenian lives.

"Moscow decided to take radical action, not to protect Armenians but only because Soviet power was threatened," the main nationalist group, the Armenian National Movement, said in Yerevan.

It made the charge in a statement read to AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE by telephone from the Armenian capital.

"The events should be seen as a violation of Azeris' sovereign rights which could reflect negatively on the future of other republics," the movement said.

When Armenians asked Moscow to defend their compatriots in Baku, they "were thinking of more civilized methods than the bloody acts the Soviet Army resorted to," the statement said.

While condemning Azeri violence, the statement added, Armenians wanted "to stress that these tragic events resulted from the policy of the Azerbaijan and central leaderships."

Moscow's weak response to the Sumgait massacre of 1988 and events in recent months had "given Azeris the idea that they could get away with anything," the statement added.

Ethnic riots in the Azerbaijan city of Sumgait left 31 dead, according to official reports.

At least 83 people, including 14 soldiers, died when Soviet troops smashed their way into Baku on Friday and Saturday, according to an official toll. Azeri nationalists have said hundreds died.

Armenia, Azerbaijan Situation 'Still Dramatic'

LD2301155290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1415 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, 23 Jan (TASS)—TASS special correspondents report from the scene:

The situation in Armenia and Azerbaijan is still dramatic in character.

Yerevan: In an interview for TASS, Major General Mikhail Surkov, chief of the political department of the Yerevan garrison, said that it is still too early to speak of any major achievements at the negotiations between representatives of the party and state leaderships of Armenia and Azerbaijan, which are taking place in the region of Yeraskh, on the border between Armenia and the Nakhichevan SSR. According to him, as of today the main result has been that shots have not been heard and people have not been dying for 4 days now.

To stabilize the situation, the major general considers, it is necessary for the home guard detachments on both sides to be removed as far away from the conflict areas as possible. For the moment, he said, a resumption of the exchange of fire can be expected at any moment.

In Surkov's words, a total of 174 automatic weapons, 2 machine guns, and other types of weapons have been stolen from the troop units and Border Guards. None of these has yet been returned. At the same time, he noted, a stolen armored personnel carrier with two machine guns was recently returned through an agreement with representatives of informal organizations.

Mikhail Surkov announced that the garrison command has established contact with the Armenian National Movement—an informal organization officially recognized by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Armenia. While we are conducting a dialogue with the Armenian National Movemnet, the major general said, the troops have an opportunity to tackle the matters assigned them without any conflict, he said.

According to him, neither food, gas, nor fuel oil needed to supply power stations is yet arriving along the railway which crosses the territory of Azerbaijan.

As regards prospects for stabilizing the situation in Armenia, the major general said that that depends completely on the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh and other parts of Azerbaijan where there is an Armenian population.

Baku: According to a report from Lt Gen Vladimir Dubinyak, the Baku military commander, extremist groups are continuing their criminal activities, provoking clashes with troops. On Monday evening a convoy of vehicles carrying servicemen, who had been transferred to the reserves, together with women and children, was fired on. The shooting left two servicemen and a woman bystander dead and one male civilian wounded. A lone military vehicle and troop detachments were fired on later.

In the last 24 hours 4 people have been arrested in the town for administrative infringements and 58 for violating the curfew. Fifty-eight firearms and four knives have been confiscated.

There was a mourning meeting in Lenin Square in the center on Monday. Around 1 million people took part in it, according to Azerbaijan Ministry of Internal Affairs figures. It proceeded in a calm atmosphere, as did the subsequent funeral of victims of the events of 19 and 20 January. After the funeral there was a further meeting in the square, at which Neimat Panakhov, leader of the so-called Committee for National Defense of the Popular Front of Azerbaijan [PFA], announced that "the PFA is going underground."

Evacuation Continues

LD2301213790 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Report by special correspondent Yevgeniy Biokhin in Baku; from "Vremya" newscast—live]

[Text] On 23 January, shots rang out in various parts of the city. The situation was particularly tense in the area of the Salyanskiye barracks. Guerrillas fired on military units deployed here. The evacuation of inhabitants from the city continues. Women, elderly people, and children are the first to be taken away. The evacuation is being carried out in an organized way and without panic. People are very worried by the absence of information. No newspapers are being published in the city and the television center is closed. The intercity telephone lines are extremely overloaded. Spontaneous rallies are being held in the city.

The bureau of the Azerbaijani Communist Party [CP] Central Committee has issued an appeal to the working people of the city of Baku. The appeal says, among other things: Azerbaijan is living through difficult days. Emotions have overtaken commonsense. There is grief in our hearts for those who have died. There is a state of emergency in Baku. The time will come when everything will be revealed about the reasons why the republic and the Azerbaijani people were drawn to the brink of an abyss. Everything must be done to stop the clashes and prevent further bloodshed, and to find strength and courage to resolutely turn the course of events on to normal channels. It is clear to everyone how unnatural it is that shots are resounding in the streets of the city. The return of calm to our homes now depends on you, the citizens of Baku, says the appeal of the bureau of the Azerbaijani CP Central Committee to the working people of the city of Baku.

Over 16,000 Leave Baku

LD2301204390 Moscow TASS in English 2004 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 23 TASS—The situation in Baku and Azerbaijan on the whole remains complicated. According to the city's military commandant, extremist groups continue criminal actions and provoke clashes with troops.

A convoy of vehicles with servicemen, women and children was attacked on Monday night. There were casualties.

Bandits later attacked an army vehicle and troop positions.

Sixty-two people have been detained during the past twenty-four hours. More than sixty units of fire-arms and cold steel have been seized.

The evacuation of refugees is continuing. 97 Armenians and 665 members of servicemen's families were evacuated from the Republic by air and railway during the past day. More than 16,000 Armenians have been evacuated from Baku since January 14.

Citizens receive anonymous letters and telephone calls with threats. The commandant called on the population to display restraint and calm, stressing that troops of the Baku Garrison are controlling the situation.

According to the Azerbaijani Interior Ministry's latest information, 93 people were killed in Kabu between January 20-22, including 75 civilians. 639 civilians and 76 policemen and servicemen were wounded.

Rumours spread by Azerbaijan's mission in Moscow about thousands of victims and claims that up to 1,500 corpses were hidden on the ferry "Kazakhstan" are a cynical lie.

Telegrams sent by provocateurs from Baku allege that servicemen from various republics were killed on a mass scale and that military units were planning attacks at Azerbaijani populated localities. That is not true.

Naval vessels have been blocked inside the Bay of Baku. Buildings of the Caspian Fleet Headquarters remain sealed off.

In several instances, terrorists dressed in military uniform took part in outrages.

In appearances on local television and in speeches at rallies, representatives of the Azerbaijani People's Front heighten passions around frontier posts and units which have assumed control over sections of the state border. They make provocative statements and threaten with violence.

Despite these activities, border units have established control over a large sector of the Soviet-Iranian border in Azerbaijan during the past twenty-four hours.

The number of crossings has dropped considerably. Big groups of inhabitants or border villages cooperate with frontier troops, commanders and political officers in restoring law and order. There are no casualties of killed or wounded among frontier guards.

In Nagorno-Karabakh, the local population is helping clear blocked roads.

Ten freight trains, including 122 cars with fuel, proceeded to Armenia via Sadakhlo junction of the Transcaucasian railway on January 22.

The republic's inhabitants are increasingly concerned about actions by armed groups of extremists and criminals. People are tired of fear and deprivation. They want to live and work normally. They call upon their compatriots to observe the law, find and detain offenders and turn in weapons.

According to the Soviet Interior Ministry, the following arms were returned during the past day: pistols to the Ashtarak Police Department, two howitzers and forty shotguns to Yerevan's police precinct named after 26 Baku Commissars.

At the same time, there were instances when guarded facilities were attacked with the aim of seizing weapons and munition. By encouraging people to seize arms, informal leaders are losing control over militants. On January 21, during the funeral of a militant killed in a shoot-out on the border with Azerbaijan, a gunman wounded a youngster in the head.

The servicemen of the training tank regiment from the Kiev Military District, many of whom are Azerbaijanis and Armenians, appealed to the peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia to stop the internecine fighting. The text of the appeal has been sent to republican newspapers in Transcaucasia.

Refugees in Odessa, Kiev

LD2401121890 Kiev in English to North America 1900 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] The first families of refugees from Azerbaijan have arrived in the city of Odessa, southern part of the Ukraine. They have been accommodated at the local sanatorium; provided with medical aid; their children attend day-care centers and schools. The Odessa City Executive Committee is now solving the question pertaining to job placement of the refugees and providing them with housing. A group of refugees from Azerbaijan has also been received in Kiev.

Moscow Hosts Refugees

LD2201200890 Moscow TASS in English 1818 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 22 TASS—More than 13,000 Armenians and people of other nationalities have fled Azerbaijan since pogroms began in that Transcaucasian republic.

On January 17, the USSR Council of Ministers passed a resolution on the provision of relief aid, including money allowances, to the refugees.

About 3,000 Armenian refugees from Azerbiajan have arrived in Moscow in the past week, a spokesman for Armenia's Moscow mission told TASS.

However, Moscow hotels and holiday centres near Moscow could not accommodate all of them. So hundreds have to spend nights in the mission's premises.

It is impossible to provide refugees with permanent places of residence in Moscow now, as tens of thousands of Moscow families, having poor living conditions, are in dire need of new flats.

The Armenian mission spokesman said about 250 Armenians from Baku, who came to Moscow on Thursday on an IL-86 flight from Yerevan and who demanded flats in Moscow, were accomodated in several holiday centers near Moscow on Saturday.

Last week, they were evacuated by ferry to Krasnovodsk, Turkenia, and then by plane to Yerevan.

In Yerevan, the refugees were invited to settle in rural areas but they refused, saying they do not know the Armenian language well after living all their life in Azerbaijan and and that they are not good at farming.

After their arrival in Moscow, about fifty of the 300 IL-86 passengers went to their relatives and friends. The others remained on board the plane and demanded flats in the Soviet capital.

Other cities are receiving refugees, too. The Black Sea city of Odessa is accomodating refugees from Azerbaijan in local sanatoria at the initiative of the local trade union council.

M. Movsesova, 66, says: "I'm not worrying about the life of my great-grandson Arkadiy and my 15 grandchildren any longer: They and my son Robert are with me.

"I can't believe I've left Baku where I was born, where my 10 children were born, where my husband and I worked all our life.

"Now our home is ruined and I don't know the fate of many of my friends."

The woman can hardly speak, as she has almost lost her voice because of the shock.

Her son Robert, who had worked as a driver in Baku for years, says he was beaten and then sacked. Even the local militia could not help him.

Robert says his wife disappeared when she went to buy some bread. "Our small daughter and son weep at nights and call her," he says bitterly.

Another refugee, Z. Avakova, says: "We lived all our life shoulder-to-shoulder with Azeris in peace. Even in the current horrible situation, some of our neighbours tried ito help us, although they were running a lot of risks.

"Extremists stop at nothing, they have already begun attacking mixed families and threatening Russians.

"Thank God, the government of the country brought itself to announce a state of emergency in Baku. No more deaths among children, women and old people and no more bloodshed must be allowed. We ask the Soviet power for reliable protection."

The Odessa authorities intend to help refugees settle there permanently. A year ago, Odessa region gave refuge to many victims of the Armenian earthquake.

Metro Transport Working

LD2301141890 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1300 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] We didn't have any doubts about what to start today's news with, for the whole world's attention - and this isn't an exaggeration - is riveted to the events in Azerbaijan and Armenia. As you know, since the explosion at the television center in Baku, reports are being delivered to our editorial office here by airplane. Unfortunately, we therefore will receive videocassette material on today's events only this evening. In the meantime, we have pictures which were taken yesterday and a brief TASS report which has just been received on our teleprinters.

Not all enterprises are operating today in the Azerbaijani capital, and neither is city transport, apart from the metro. Not only print workers, but also staff in all the editorial offices are on strike. According to the military commandant in Baku, shots can be heard from time to time in some areas of the city. Troops have partially taken under their protection the main installations providing vital functions. Speaking at a briefing late yesterday evening, Gennadiy Gerasimov said the situation in Transcaucasia remains tense. However, time will tell how events develop, Gennadiy Ivanovich said. Well, we will await the development of events.

At 2345 [2045 GMT] today we propose to show on our nighttime news report a brief video summary of the reports received during the day on this topic. [video shows large crowd in square, a meeting at a conference table with "Moscow" caption, street procession with pro-Azerbaijan slogans, Gerasimov at briefing]

No 'Letting Up' of Threats

LD2301214490 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 23 Jan 90

[From "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] What is the situation like in Armenia? Our special correspondent report:

[Correspondent Igor Minayev] I have in my hands today's issue of the KOMMUNIST newspaper. It publishes a report on the emergency measures which are being adopted by the Armenian Government to somehow stabilize the tense economic situation in the republic.

[Second unidentified correspondent] Most enterprises today can only work at night. The republican council of ministers has imposed tough limits on energy consumption in all enterprises, academic institutions, hospitals, and commercial and consumer service establishments. To save electricity, the enforced measure to considerably reduce television broadcasting has been adopted.

[Minayev] The economic difficulties and the absence of light, heating, and water in homes understandably cannot fail to affect the mood of the people. And there is, unfortunately, another factor which exasperates the soul.

[Begin recording] [V.R. Nazaryan, Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic prosecutor, identified by screen caption] Extremist elements are not letting up in their threats against servicemen, demanding that they get out of Armenia. Such an anonymous statement—I do not know who wrote it—can, if it was made with intent, pursue but one goal: to set the Armenian people and the local Armenian population against the Army. People have been ringing me up at the prosecutor's office since the morning, representatives of the Kurdish intelligentsia living on Armenian territory have been ringing all the time and they are expressing their indignation and their protest. [end recording]

[Minayev] There have been reports lately that threats against the Kurdish population living in Armenia from Armenians have become more frequent.

[Begin recording] [Sh.Kh.Mgoi, Dr of History; identified by screen caption] I categorically refute these reports. That's not just my opinion, it's the opinion of the whole Kurdish intelligentsia in the republic. [end recording] [Video shows Minayev sitting by television set, clip from newspaper shown on screen, interior of factory producing vans, snow-covered streets, blank television screen, group of people on pavement, two interviews]

Azerbaijan KGB Urges Patience, 'Wisdom'

LD2301141390 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0204 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Appeal by Azerbaijan State Security Committee to people of Azerbaijan on 23 January]

[Text] The people of Azerbaijan are experiencing grave days. The republic is face to face with [word indistinct]. This can lead to passions boiling over, chaos and anarchy. An incident which cannot be corrected—loss of human life—completely innocent citizens have lost their lives. We, officials of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic State Security Committee grieve together with the people, and extend our condolences with deep sorrow to the families of those who have died. We are sure that this tragedy too has been provoked by [word indistict] adversaries of Azerbaijan.

At this difficult moment, we appeal to the people of Azerbaijan and call on them to be patient, to show wisdom as they have done for centuries, not to seek sedition and not to allow [word indistinct] victims.

We appeal to servicemen and call on them to display the best quality of the Soviet soldier.

We are ready to do all we can [word indistinct] to protect the rights of Azerbaijan, the sovereignty of the republic, and its territorial integrity, and to resolutely stop extremism.

Transcaucasus Reservists Demobilized Again

PM2201194590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Reservists Go Home"]

[Text] Krasnodar—There have never been so many military transports in the skies over Krasnodar. Today they are taking home the reservists who were drafted to temporarily swell some Transcaucasus Military District units in connection with the extremely tense situation in a number of rayons in Azerbaijan and Armenia.

A roll call was held before they left for home. A representative of the district military commissariat thanked the reserve troops for their timely arrival at induction centers and for their orderliness.

Unfortunately, the same cannot be said about the work of some city and rayon military commissariats. Some of their personnel treated people callously and violated established drafting procedure. In an endeavor to fulfill their orders at any cost, they sent to the troop units reservists not liable to the draft, invalids, parents of large families, and materially responsible people given no time to transfer their assets. Families received no information for a long time as to where their drafted relatives were to be found.

Rostov-na-Donu—Rostov Airport received military transports all night and every one was greeted by Major General N. Pypnik, military commissar for Rostov Oblast. He thanked the reserve draftees for their service and directed their journey home.

MVD Press Center Reports on Transcaucasus

LD2301173690 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1600 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, 23 Jan (TASS)—As noted in reports by the Press Center of the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs], the situation in the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] remains tense. In a number of places acts of incitement are being organized, aimed at frustrating measures to stabilize the situation. Over the past 24 hours, meetings have been organized in Baku and several other towns demanding the lifting of the state of emergency, the withdrawal of troops and the organization of a general strike.

Attacks with the aim of seizing weapons are continuing. Groups of armed persons seized six pistols, a rifle, and five portable raidos from paramilitary security guards at Imishli and Shirvan railway stations. On the Azerbaijan railway line, 177 freight trains are standing idle, 136 of which are carrying freight for the Armenian SSR. At the railway station in Barda, while perishable goods were being unloaded on their way to the Nagorno-Karbakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO], 60 detonators and caps were discovered.

Three people with gunshot wounds have been taken to Sumgait City Hospital. An investigation is being carried out.

The situation in the NKAO remains tense. Freight trains are not arriving at Stepanakert railway station. Fifteen people have been detained for violating the curfew.

In the Armenian SSR, attacks are continuing on guarded installations with the aim of seizing weapons. In Yerevan, unidentified persons, threatening to use force, stole three pistols, two rifles, and eight hunting guns from the premises of the paramilitary security forces of the republic's forestry committee. In the village of Kaputan in Abovyanskiy Rayonh, 90,000 electronic detonators, over 3 tonnes of explosives and 17 crates of detonating cord were seized from the stores of the "Armgeologiya" production association. During the night, a similar attack was carried out on a training center of the republic's MVD and several submachinegun magazines, a pistol, and five radio sets were stolen.

A many-thousand-strong rally was held in Theater Square in Yerevan. Its participants appealed to the republic's Inhabitants to maintain order, expose and detain offenders, and organize the handing in of weapons. In the course of 24 hours, six pistols were returned to the Ashtarak town Internal Affairs Department and two howitzers and 40 hunting rifles were returned in Yerevan.

MVD's Nechayev on Troops in Transcaucasus

LD2301175390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1558 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, 23 Jan (TASS)—A TASS special correspondent reports:

The Internal Troops who have arrived in the Transcaucasus are acting as a kind of buffer between the opposing sides. Their actions are based on the need to ensure the constitutional right of every person to live in his own home and on his own land. Major General Yevgeniy Nechayev, deputy chief of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] Internal Troops Political Administration, who just returned from the Transcaucasus, stressed this in his address at the news briefing here today.

He noted that the situation in Azerbaijan and Armenia still remains extremely tense. Shots continue to ring out. The extremists are shooting at perfectly innocent people. According to the General, more and more frequently they are choosing the men of the MVD Internal Troops as their targets.

Since 11 January, seven servicemen of the Internal Troops have died, including three officers. Four servicemen of the Internal Troops have been listed as missing since 14 January. Nine people have been taken to the hospital with serious injuries. A total of 40 servicemen of the Internal Troops have been wounded.

The killers' bullet is aimed at soldiers who arrived there as defenders, said Yevgeniy Nechayev. Ordinary people express indignation at the acts of the extremists, realizing that it is their children who are dying. In many remote districts of the region, the Internal Troops, their equipment, and helicopters are now frequently the only means of delivering food. All the more regret is evoked by reports that, in some shops, there are refusals to sell bread to servicemen's families, and threats.

We understand, said the General, that these threats do not come from the Armenian or the Azeri peoples. They result from the anti-Army sentiments that have been deliberately inflated over the last few days. The nationalist calls being voiced at rallies are exerting a particularly negative influence.

The personnel of the Internal Troops view the events in the Transcaucasus as a tragedy for our society and unanimously voice their indignation at the acts of the extremist persons, associations, and groupings which have provoked the current events, said Yevgeniy Nechayev. This is shown, he says, by the results of an express poll carried out among servicemen by the Political Administration. The servicemen of the Internal Troops, the General empnasized, are also unanimous in thinking that order must be installed on the basis of the unconditional observance of, and respect for, the law and legality.

Members of more than 40 nationalities of the USSR, including Armenians and Azeris, are now serving in the MVD USSR's Internal Troops, the General announced. "I wish to declare officially and with due responsibility," the General said, "that, during the period of the aggravated situation in these two republics of the Transcaucasus, not a single instance of a manifestation by the servicemen of those nationalities of any kind or a suspicion about one another has been noted."

Further on Nechayev Address

LD2301153790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] There was a briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists today at the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs. They were acquainted with the operational situation over the past days in Azerbaijan and Armenia. Our correspondent Anatoliy Fedorov reports:

[Fedorov] We were told the situation in Azerbaijan and Armenia remains extremely, extremely tense. As you know, this is the 4th day since the state of emergency was introduced into the city and have begun to implement measures to put an end to the disorders and to ensure the population's safety. However, anti-social forces have in all possible ways obstructed the conducting of these measures; they have carried out provocations and set up barricades using trucks, buses, and telegraph poles, or they have been shooting. In this situation servicemen have been compelled to use weapons in response. Fulfilling the task they had been set, the Interior Ministry troops, Soviet Army units, and the USSR KGB have begun to establish public order and end the arbitrariness, to defend installations providing vital functions to the population and to ensure citizens' safety. Railways and other forms of communications are being taken under the protection of troops, and actions of extremists on the state border are being stopped. According to preliminary operational data, over the past 24 hours meetings have been organized in Baku and other cities demanding that the state of emergency be revoked, that the troops be withdrawn and a general strike be organized. Another piece of information from the same report: instances of shooting at Interior Ministry troops are continuing. Soviet Army soldiers who were serving at command posts have been attacked, as have vehicles carrying servicemen called up from the reserve who were returning to the city of Novocherkassk. As a result of the shooting one reservist was killed and two were wounded.

What do the soldiers themselves, young 18-20-year old men, think about these tragic events? Many journalists asked Yevgeniy Aleksandrovich Nechayev, deputy chief of the Political Directorate of the Internal Troops of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, about this.

[Begin Nechayev recording] I officially state the Political Directorate has carried out an opinion poll and a quick analysis. It has invariably shown that the personnel regard these events as a tragedy that has taken place in our society and are indignant about the extremist forces, associations and groupings which have initiated this bloody slaughter. I must say we have a considerable

number of Azeris and Armenians serving in our troops. I can give you the figure. There are more than 10,000 Azeris and more than 3,000 Armenians serving in the internal troops. We have not had a single case, including this period, to give grounds for some mutual suspicion. The only issue is that people are worried about their relatives and friends, from whom they are not receiving any letters or messages. Well, you know that many channels of normal life have been disturbed, and therefore, we are taking all the measures, we are establishing links and giving addresses; when we receive mail, we get in touch and this way, by various means, we inform our personnel about their relatives and friends. This is a natural worry but I tell you officially and absolutely objectively that we have not had any negative evaluations.

What has been worrying us, especially in the last few days, are mounting anti-Army feelings and the growing output by the extremist and nationalistic organizations and associations that are in evidence, and this is no secret. They have increased a stream of samizdat literature destined for army units of the Soviet Army, KGB troops and, of course, internal troops. What is alarming us? Have these actions, these leaflets, slogans, and insults had any effect? Yes, they have. To our great regret, we have this sad score so far: Seven servicemen, including three officers, have died; four of our servicemen have disappeared since 14 January, but a used cartridge, a destroyed radio, and a dark brown stain, as crime detectives would say, were found on the site. To date, nine men are suffering from trauma and in grave condition. 40 men have various degrees of injuries. I do not want to sound too emotional but please tell me who are they shooting at? At those who have come to protect?! [end recording]

Armenia's Arutyunyan Chairs 22 Jan Meeting

NC2301195090 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0545 GMT 23 Jan 90

[From review of KHORHRDAYIN HAYASTAN]

[Text] The regular meeting of the republican council for special situation met yesterday under Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee. Comrade Arutyunyan briefed the council members about the operational situation in the republic. He underlined that thanks to the measures taken, no incidents have taken place on the republic's borders during the last two days.

The flow of refugees into Armenia is continuing. Since 22 January almost 7,000 have come to Armenia.

On its front page the paper published an ARMENPRES report on the deliberations of the republican council for the special situation.

'Hostages' Exchanged

NC2301201590 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] The Republican Council on the special situation held its regular meeting under Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee. He briefed the council about the operational situation in the republic and underlined that thanks to the measures adopted, no incidents on interethnic grounds have taken place on the borders of the republic for the last two days.

The troops of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry and Soviet Army units are maintaining order in the Shaumyanovskiy and Khanlarskiy Rayons of Azerbaijan. The two sides have exchanged hostages.

The flow into Armenia is continuing. As of 22 January, there are around 8,000 refugees in Armenia, and Suren Arutyunyan said everything is being done to settle the refugees and to provide material and moral assistance. Dwellings have been assigned for the refugees in different regions of Armenia. The situation in border regions is under control. Party and soviet workers have been sent to these areas and, in cooperation with the local authorities and representatives of the public and informal organizations, they are making explanations and doing everything possible to check hostility and intolerance and to forestall undesirable acts. The council also discussed other issues in the prevailing situation.

Further on Arutyunyan

NC2401131690 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0200 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Text] The republican council on the special situation met on 23 January under the chairmanship of Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee. Briefing the council on the situation in the republic and region, he indicated that despite measures being taken by party and soviet bodies and the broad masses of the people, the situation in the republic's regions [word indistinct] bordering Azerbaijan remains complex and tense. However, taken as a whole, the situation is under control.

No raids, shootings, or other actions from either side were reported in the last 24 hours.

Members of the operational staff [formerly called the operational committee] attached to the republican council on the special situation delivered reports on the work carried out thus far. Operational staffs have been set up in virtually every region and are (?supervising) the situation and coordinating efforts. The representatives of the local bodies of the Soviet Army, internal affairs troops, and public organizations are actively participating in this work.

Enormous efforts are being exerted to receive and settle the refugees.

The blockade of the republic's railways is continuing. The question of expanding the Transcaucasian railways' capacity is being considered.

Dear listeners, information about the 23 January meeting of the republican council on the special situation will be published in the press.

Gorbachev Adviser Ambartsumov Interviewed

AU2301221490 Vienna Television Service in 2100 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Interview with Yevgeniy Ambartsumov, political scientist at Economics of Socialist Countries Institute in Moscow, and "one of Gorbachev's closest advisers," by Christian Schueller in Moscow on 23 January—recorded]

[Text] This interview first deals with the question why the development in the Caucasus has gotten completely out of Moscow's control.

[Ambartsumov] The central government did everything to prevent a military conflict, a violent conflict. In my opinion, this was a mistake. The central government reacted too late to the genocide in (?Sumgait) 2 years ago. One was afraid of a possible negative reaction of the millions of Muslims living in the Soviet Union.

However, I have the impression that the majority of the Muslims, also those in the Azerbaijani population, were certainly against these rowdies.

[Schueller] Apparently, there was also a social problem behind these pogroms—that is, the 200,000 Azerbaijani refugees, most of whom are unemployed and homeless. Is the reproach correct that Moscow as well as the Azerbaijani leadership did nothing to integrate these refugees and thus to alleviate the problem?

[Ambartsumov] They are mainly unskilled or slightly skilled young workers who came from villages, that is, resettlers who can also be found in the Third World. The central leadership and the leadership of the republic did nothing to integrate these people or create better living conditions for them.

[Schueller] The Army has lost prestige and there is the conflict with the Islamic neighboring states. Has this not been the greatest catastrophe for Gorbachev's policy so far?

[Ambartsumov] Yes. This has always been and will be his guideline: He does not want bloodshed. Therefore, he has always tried to avoid risks. He thought that the conflict between the two ethnic groups could be settled without assistance. This was a mistake.

[Schueller] What trumps can he play now? How will he succeed in gathering the party around him in the party plenum and up until the party congress in the autumn?

[Ambartsumov] It is still possible to reorganize this party and to overrule the forces of the apparatus, the conservative forces. Many things will depend on Gorbachev: On whether he will act more radically, on whether he will be bolder and more courageous in implementing the reform that he himself promised.

[Schueller] At the risk of spliting the party?

[Ambartsumov] Even at such a risk. But a politician must always risk something.

Soviet Editor: "No Better Choice Than Gorbachev"

PM2301113690 London BBC Television Network in English 2230 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Interview with Vladimir Alekseyev, deputy editor-in-chief of NOVOSTI, in Moscow, by BBC 2 news presenter Donald MacCormick in London on 22 January from the BBC 2 "Newsnight" program following a report on fighting in Azerbaijan —recorded]

[Text] [MacCormick] The claims and counterclaims over the exact size of the weekend's death toll have ranged from an official estimate of 83 to the Azerbaijani Popular Front's claim of 3,700. Earlier this evening I was joined from Moscow by Vladimir Alekseyev, a Gorbachev supporter, who is deputy editor-in-chief of the official Soviet press agency, NOVOSTI. I asked him first which figure he believed.

[Alekseyev] I would tend to believe the official figures because I think that, from what I've heard, that takes into account ev... all the casualties that have occurred there.

[MacCormick] Is it true that Soviet troops fired on unarmed demonstrators on Saturday? For example, there are some allegations today in the youth version of PRAVDA [KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] from a Soviet journalist who says: "There is no doubt that this was an organized shooting of peaceful people." Apparently, that was in the youth version of PRAVDA today.

[Alekseyev] The evening papers discounted that and said that the Army, the military, began shooting after they were shot at and... and so you see, you have conflicting reports here. But, you see, I don't think that there was this indiscriminate shooting because, well, I don't tend to believe such things. I think that, of course, as soon as the Army was shot at, it shot ba[illegible] after it received orders that it could do so.

[MacCormick] But doesn't the fact that the Azerbaijani parliament has called for the withdrawal—the complete withdrawal—of Soviet forces indicate just how unpopular the invasion has been?

[Alekseyev] The fact is that the troops were called in to go into Azerbaijan and to go into Baku after the parliament, after the local government, was unable to, you know, hold the situation in hand.

[MacCormick] What is Mr Gorbachev going to do to prevent Azerbaijan from breaking away? As someone has said today, the troops cannot fire on a million people.

[Alekseyev] There are such very extreme groups, but you must take into account that Azerbaijan has been for very many years a part of the Soviet Union—there are so many links and ties with the Soviet Union—and I think when emotions are cooled, then people will begin to think in a more rational way.

[MacCormick] What makes you think that tempers will cool down enough to give the sort of result you would like to see?

[Alekseyev] Well, I think because, to a certain extent, this is the apex of, you know, just emotions—you know, sort of spilling over. And after there's such a burst of emotion there, I will believe that a sort of a sobering up will come around and the people—and the majority of the people—will see that the extremists have nothing very much constructive to offer them.

[MacCormick] In THE GUARDIAN newspaper here today, it was reported that radical members of the Communist Party in Moscow are planning to call on Mr Gorbachev to resign to pave the way for an overhaul of leadership and introduction of a multiparty system. Do you give any credence to that?

[Alekseyev] I think that the only person, and the person who can now lead the Soviet Union and has the respect of the majority of people, is Mr Gorbachev. Now as regards what you were saying that the radicals might be asking him to resign and to assume a presidentship and be a president and allow for a multiparty system, well I think that to a certain extent is now in line of speculation, and also, you see, you have to look at things in a way that... you know, in a traditional way that we have here. I think that, of course, the power is shifting to the Supreme Soviet, and let us wait to see what will happen at the next party congress, and I think that at the present moment and at the present situation, there is no better choice than Mr Gorbachev now to head the party and the government here in the Soviet Union.

Tarazevich Comments on State of Emergency

LD2301173390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] The state of emergency—Reality and forecasts: Andrey Nikiforov, our correspondent, talks to Georgiy Stanislavovich Tarazevich, chairman of the Commission for Nationalities Policy and Relations Between Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

[Begin recording] [Nikiforov] Georgiy Stanislavovich, the introduction of the state of emergency is, we all are aware, a temporary measure, aimed at putting a halt to the escalation of violence. But a day will come—and everyone is hoping for it—and the regime of the state of emergency will be repealed. What steps will be necessary, in your view, to adopt so that what is now taking place is not repeated in the future?

[Tarazevich] You are correct in that the emergency measures are temporary measures. They ought to be followed by appropriate political measures, such as would safeguard normal life for the two neighboring peoples. These peoples' goodwill and sense should gain the upper hand, ensuring their continuing future.

Naturally, it will now be complicated, very complicated, to sit down at the negotiating table after all that has taken place, after everything that is currently taking place in these republics—but, be that as it may, I see no way out other than dialogue, talks, and mutual understanding.

I must say that our commission, immediately following the First Congress of People's Deputies, dealt with and studied the problem connected with the relations between the Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples. With the participation of the commission, talks were held here in Moscow. Taking part in them were those representing the Azerbaijani Supreme Soviet Presidium and the peope's deputies from Nagorno-Karabakh. As far as certain aspects are concerned, accords were reached: that is to say measures were put forward which were positively received on both sides. Unfortunately, however, these talks lasted just over one week.

Our commission, a Supreme Soviet commission and all the deputies will do everything they can so as to commence this dialogue sooner, I think. We hope it will get off the ground. I am an optimist and I think that these neighboring peoples will come to understand each other and that they will sit down at the negotiating table. [end recording]

Ovchinnikov Interviewed in Baku 23 Jan

LD2301195390 Moscow TASS in English 1848 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 23 TASS—"Every measure is now being taken to supply objective information to people as soon as possible," Lieutenant-General Aleksandr Ovchinnikov, member of the military council, said in an interview with the IZVESTIYA newspaper from Baku. He said the lack of information only plays into the hands of those who circulate rumours.

Republican and city newspapers have stopped work for the duration and television is off the air.

General Ovchinnikov believes there are several reasons for this—technological, ideological and reasons of national psychology.

"The extremists have put the power plant of the television station out of action," he said. "Repairs are now being made. But the republic's television will not be able to operate all three channels, or even one channel on a permanent basis."

Other reasons are connected with the stand of the forces that try to use television as a means to whip up tension, the general said.

He said workers of the broadcasting services and television should assess events in Baku with restraint and caution.

They must show where extremism leads, they must support the sober forces and rid people of fear. And they have to do this at a time when pluralism is not tolerated and many difference of opinion is met with threats.

"Editorial offices of the army use the radio services, broadcasting stations, mass circulation newspapers and other printed matter to promote stabilisation, prevent, panic, make people confident that their lawful rights, life and health are reliably protected", General Ovchinnikov said.

The first issue of the "BRATSTVO" (BROTHERHOOD) newspaper of the Baku Garrison has appeared in Baku, IZVESTIYA reported.

It carries a decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on the introduction of a state of emergency in Baku and the address of women of different nationalities residing in Baku to Azerbaijanian women, urging them to halt the bloodshed, to prevent the deaths of more people.

Gidaspov, Posner on USSR's 'Most Serious Crisis'

PM2301155290 London BBC Television Network in English 1900 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Interview with Boris Gidaspov, first secretary of Leningrad city and oblast CPSU committees, speaking in Russian (with subtitles), and Vladimir Posner, Soviet commentator, in English, incorporating comments by unidentified citizens in Russian with superimposed translation into English, in Leningrad by correspondent David Smith on Channel 4 "News" program during a report on Azerbaijan—no date given; recorded]

[Text] [Smith] This is Boris Gidaspov, head of the party in Leningrad, arguably the most important party boss outside Moscow, and the man with real doubts about what Mr Gorbachev is doing. So what about Azerbaijan and Armenia? Do you think that the government moved in time or did they act too late?

[Gidaspov] No, no, no. I'm convinced that events had to be stopped, but certainly we should have reacted earlier—and not by military means, because for 70 years both Christians and Muslims have existed together for better or worse. It's a racial conflict. Let's call things by their real name. The economic situation made it worse, but there was an inability by the authorities to cope, where we have coped in the past.

[Smith] Do you see any solution for this conflict?

[Gidaspov] Conflicts which start and end in bloodshed demand wisdom and tolerance, but most importantly, they need time. Take Ulster, for example. For how many years has it been impossible to find a solution between Catholics and Protestants? Now we have something like that on our hands.

[Smith] Despite the party, Leningrad has been politicized under Mr Gorbachev, and on a bitterly cold weekend here, there were well-attended meetings in the city. The chief speaker was Vladimir Posner, the country's best-known political commentator, and a man who acts almost these days as a roving ambassador for the president and perestroyka. When he asked the audience what they thought of the Army's crackdown in Azerbaijan, there was a clear majority in favor, just a handful against. But support was tinged by dismay that the country has come to this and by the fear of what will happen next.

[Unidentified man No. 1] I believe the right steps have been taken to solve this problem and hope that we'll have positive results.

[Unidentified man No. 2] I lived in Baku until 1947, so I know these people, and I'm very upset that they haven't found any answers.

[Unidentified woman] It's worrying, it's terrifying: We really don't want bloodshed and want to do all we can to prevent it. We Russians really don't understand it.

[Posner] There is concern, and there is fear that this is what might be in store for the country as a whole, since it is made up of different entities and of different religious groups.

[Smith] How does Gorbachev personally emerge from all this?

[Posner] Well, I think a lot of people have detected a lack of... a lack of willpower to make a decision, and I think that Azerbaijan is a test. If the government, and of course this means Gorbachev, do not show resolution—"we will do what is necessary to stop this"—then I think there is going to be a very widespread fear that we're not protected. This could happen to any of us.

[Smith] Fear of violence, fear of chaos: That is precisely what the hard-liners at Communist Party headquarters in Leningrad play on constantly. Party leaders like Boris Gidaspov were saying it again tonight: Events may be moving beyond Moscow's control.

[Gidaspov] If we don't react to these events and, as I said, react wisely, the situation will get even worse. To tell you the truth, what's happening now in Azerbaijan and Armenia is already the most serious crisis.

Army Endeavors To Restore Baku TV Service

PM2301165790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Jan 90 Morning Edition pp 1,6

[IZVESTIYA special correspondents Viktor Litovkin and Sergey Mostovshchikov telephone report: "Baku, 23 January"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Certainly, a very great deal must be done in the city to extinguish and curb the passions and to calm the city's inhabitants, who have been stirred up by the tragic events of the last few days. But how is this to be done if republic and municipal newspapers are not being published, central newspapers are not being printed, and if Azerbaijan television is not operational either.

What has happened to them? Your correspondents asked Lieutenant General A. Ovchinnikov, member of the Military Council, to answer this question.

"Why is the television not operating?" Aleksandr Ivanovich said. "There are several reasons for this—purely technical, ideological, and national-psychological. Extremists have put the television station's power units out of action. We are eliminating this damage. But I cannot as yet say that the republic's television is ready to provide a full service on all three channels —or even just one—on a stable basis. What we have done has been on a temporary basis and is not designed to provide the kind of protracted service required today."

"As I said, there are also other reasons. They stem from the clash of 'positions' of those forces which are endeavoring to use television as a means of inflaming passions further. Radio and television must assess events in Baku from a position of self-possession and patience. They must show what unbridled extremism leads to, support healthy forces, and dispel the people's fears. All this in a situation when no pluralism is allowed in people's thoughts and any dissenting opinion is immediately nipped in the bud by blunt threats."

"We are currently taking all steps," A. Ovchinnikov continued, "to provide people with objective information as quickly as possible and tell them the truth. Absence of truth only benefits the people spreading rumors, conjecture, and—in most cases—merely slander."

"For instance, rumors to the effect that the combat hardware drivers and operators smashed through the obstructions around the military camps were mainly Armenians have been doggedly whipped up. We checked these rumors out thoroughly and it turned out that there were no Armenian nationals at all among the troops who entered Baku."

"Here is another example: Specific addresses of military camps where hundreds of corpses are allegedly being hidden from the public have been given. We gave Azerbaijan people's deputies an opportunity to visit all camps, where they were able to inspect any premises and talk to people.... No one discovered any facts corroborating this wicked slander."

"People are also saying that the television power unit was blown up by soldiers themselves. The question is then: Why are we currently making every effort to put the television back on the air as soon as possible."

"I cannot as yet," Lieutenant General Ovchinnikov said in conclusion, "name the people who carried out the sabotage. An investigation is under way. It is being carried out by organs of the USSR Prosecutor's Office and Azerbaijan Ministry of Internal Affairs. If you ask the following question, it becomes clear what forces are behind them: Who benefits from a blank television screen?"

"Through the efforts of the mass media—and they are at present represented around here by the radio, public address stations, plant newspapers, leaflets, and other printed matter produced by army editorial offices—we are endeavoring to facilitate the stabilization of the situation, prevent panic from spreading, inspire confidence in people that their legal rights, lives, and health are being reliably defended. If technicians don't let us down, television screens will come to life today, 23 January, at 2000 hours in Baku inhabitants' homes...."

According to current data: Some 91 people have died since the state of emergency was introduced in Baku, of whom 18 were servicemen and members of their families.

Armenian Government Takes Energy Saving Measures

NC2301203990 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0545 GMT 23 Jan 90

[From the review of KHORHRDAYIN HAYASTAN]

[Text] According to ARMENPRES report, the republic's Council of Ministers has endorsed a schedule for each enterprise's power consumption and has fixed minimum limits for power consumption as of 24 January. The government has decided to ensure a full work-week for those enterprises which work uninterrupted and 4 working days for the rest of the enterprises. Enterprises will shift their rest days and so work on Saturdays and Sundays. Plans are that no more than 4,000 megawatts of power will be used.

Central Media on Troops, Kurds Criticized

NC2301195890 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1300 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] These days when the situation in Azerbaijan and in certain regions of Armenia has been exceedingly tense and when [words indistinct] have become usual in Baku, Shaumyanovskiy Rayon, and Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, [words indistinct], an impartial

approach from the central television, radio, and other news media is required for developments to be objectively assessed.

From this point of view, the Vremya program on central television, IZVESTIYA, and a number of other newspapers are regrettably not on the right course. For example, during the "7 Days" program aired on 21 January, a TASS report was read, which alleged that anti-army sentiment exists in Armenia. [Word indistinct] the Yerevan garrison commandant has denied this (?fraudulent) news. Such news exacerbates the already tense situation [passage indistinct]. What causes the most indignation and anger is the fact that the central press tries to equate the events taking palce in Armenia and Azerbaijan.

Now, they are trying to instigate the Kurds, who live side by side with us, to be against us. If one tries to believe Vremya, the Armenians are persecuting the Kurds [words indistinct]. All this brings no honor to Vremya or to other newspapers which regrettably disseminate fraudulent news [passage indistinct].

Correspondent on Destabilizing, Journalists

LD2301220590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] [Announcer] We have just received a report from Yerevan. Our special correspondent, Koryun Khumaryan reports:

[Khumaryan] Unfortunately, my report today will, as on previous days, contain little that is joyful—probably only that after 19 January there were no incidents in the rayons bordering Azerbaijan, although tension does remain there, and also that a certain quantity of weapons which had earlier been stolen has also been returned to the law enforcement bodies. I think that in line with the gradual stabilization of the situation, this process will grow.

Now concerning the situation in the city. The main portion of the industrial enterprises of Yerevan have already gone over to a 4-day work week. There is no raw material or components. There is not enough electricity, natural gas or fuel. After 2 days' snowfall, snowdrifts, cover the city, and the municipal authorities, due to the lack of fuel, have no apportunity to put snow-clearing equipment out onto the streets.

In the past 24 hours, as before, not a single freight waggon has arrived by the Azerbaijan railway, although even the day before yesterday, at talks between the leadership of our republic and the Nakhichevan autonomous republic an accord was reached that the movement of railway trains would not be impeded.

One of the main factors destablizing the situation in the republic remains slipshod work by our fellow journalists. For example, yesterday's meeting of the operational headquarters for the extraordinary situation began with a statement by the chief of the political department of the Yerevan garrison, Major General Mikhail Surkov, USSR people's deputy, who refuted a TASS report aired on Sunday in the "Seven Days" program—and which, incidentally ,has today been printed in the newspaper PRAVDA. He stated officially, that on the territory of Armenia, no one has ever launched attacks on units of the Soviet Army or obstructed their movement, or, moreover, taken or sought to take weapons from the Soviet Army.

But today's republican newspapers print an official statement by the command of the Yerevan garrison on this score, which I want to quote to you: The leadership of the troops on the territory of the republic is in no way connected with this report; such articles help only to exacerbate and worsen the interrelations between the population and servicemen.

And just how an incautious word by a journalists, or an inaccurate, unchecked fact can rouse people, I saw this mornng in the Masis rayon of Armenia where many Kurds live, and in the republican procuracy where, at 1500 in the afternoon they gathered to express their protest about a TASS report on alleged incidents of oppression of Kurds in Armenia.

Here is what one of the spokesmen of the Kurdish intelligentsia, a staffer of the Yerevan Physics Institute, (Muskov Amelyan) said at this meeting:

[Begin (Muskov Amelyan) recording] Maybe, somewhere, there have been some run-of-the-mill excesses, but today, to place these on a par with the state problem and to broadcast to the whole country about this, is at the least amoral. Each of us works in a collective. Each of us enjoys an exceptional, cordial relationship. Any one of us can confirm this.

The republic now finds itself in extreme conditions, and every Kurd and, I am sure, the representatives of our intelligentsia here, is ready, using any methods, any means to come to the defense of our second homeland, our fatherland of Armenia. [end recording]

[Khumaryan] Here too, the text of a telegram to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and the country's general procurator, Sukharev, was composed.

Azerbaijan Peoples Front 'Majlis' Member Cited

PM2301160790 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 24 Jan 90 p 4

[Special correspondent Vadim Simonenkov report: "Will Prudence Prevail?"]

[Excerpts] Baku-Gyandzha, 22 Jan—[Passage omitted] I have had many meetings during these days. I even managed to chat with F. Agamaliyev, member of the majlis (parliament) of the Azerbaijan People's Front, who came to Gyandzha to coordinate the actions of the local People's Front with the center. At first he refused to talk, referring to the unobjective nature of the central press. But then, on learning that I was from SELSKAYA ZHIZN, he decided nonetheless to express his positions.

"I see the Armenians' departure from here as the only solution to the conflict."

"Fine... But what about the villages? What about Nagorno-Karabakh?"

"Nagorno-Karabakh? That autonomous oblast must be dissolved. Dissolved without fail!"

"And then?"

"Then that locality must be cleared of the 'bearded ones' who have come from various places. As for the Armenians living there, they are not to blame for the current events, and we will find a common language."

"That is, you are proposing that both Armenians and Azerbaijanis remain there?"

"Yes, those who respect Azerbaijan's sovereignty—let them stay. But those who do not respect it—let them leave. You will understand, for the people have been poisoned: both ours and theirs. And we no longer have sufficient strength to halt this process. The center [central media] is largely to blame for this. The state authorities have delayed resolving such a complex question."

More of my questions to my interlocutor:

"Armed clashes are now taking place in various regions. What weapons are your self-defense detachments using?"

"Hunting rifles and carbines."

"And hail-suppression guns?"

"These too, but there are no shells. There are dummies."

"Do your detachments use mortars, cannons, machine-guns, submachineguns?"

"No. As I have already said, there are carbines and smooth-bore hunting rifles." [Passage omitted]

Azerbaijan Communist Party Expels Vezirov

LD2401112590 Hamburg DPA in German 1040 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Excerpts] Moscow (DPA)—There are strikes in the Azerbaijani capital of Baku. [passage omitted]

In the meantime the Azerbaijani party leadership has expelled its former first secretary Abdul-Rakhman Vezirov from the Communist Party. The Baku journalist Nasim Ragimov reported to DPA that the party Central Committee made this decision this morning. Vezirov was dismissed from his post on 20 January following the entry of Soviet troops into Baku. In Ragimov's words, the reason for the expulsion is that Vezirov shares responsibility for the troops marching in. He is now threatened with investigative proceedings. [passage omitted]

Organization Committee Gives Information Numbers

NC2301155090 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1253 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Unscheduled announcement by the organization committee—read by announcer]

[Text] Attention! Attention! This is Baku. The organization committee has disclosed the following:

Esteemed fellow countrymen, we informed you earlier that the people who died on the night of 19 January will be buried in (?Dagishchi) Park. In view of this, you can appeal to the organization committee for any kind of information by dialing the following numbers: 922222, 920360, and 925973.

We repeat the telephone numbers for the organization committee: 922222, 920360, and 925973.

Azeri, Armenian Nationalists Discuss Truce

AU2301145290 Paris AFP in English 1403 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, Jan 23 (AFP)—Armenian and Azeri nationalist leaders began talks overnight aimed at declaring a cease-fire on the border between their republics, nationalist sources said Tuesday in the Armenian capital Yerevan.

The talks, held under mediation of a Soviet general at a border post controlled by the Soviet Army, were to continue later in the day, said a spokesman for the Armenian National Movement interviewed by telephone.

Armenian representatives were demanding information from the Azeris on people who had disappeared during ethnic violence that has rocked the region for the past 10 days. It was not known if they had been killed or kidnapped.

Babken Ararktsyan, a leader of the Armenian movement, was heading the Armenian delegation to the talks.

In a separate development, Soviet authorities have arrested a fifth member of the Nagorno-Karabakh National Council, a ruling body set up by Armenian nationalists in the disputed territory of Nagorno-Karabakh, the spokesman said.

The arrest means Soviet authorities have now dismantled the council, he added.

Meanwhile the Popular Fronts in the Soviet Union's three Baltic republics have invited Armenian and Azeri nationalists to meet with them urgently on "neutral territory" to discuss peace talks, informed sources said Tuesday.

The Baltic Council, set up last year to coordinate action among the Latvian, Estonian and Lithuanian nationalist

organizations, offered to serve as intermediary and suggested the meeting take place Monday in the Latvian capital Riga, a spokesman for the Latvian Popular Front said.

He cited a joint statement broadcast on Baltic radio stations.

The council sent a telegram to the Armenian Nationalist Movement and Azerbaijan Popular Front on Thursday offering to serve as intermediary to open "political contacts" between the two sides, he said.

Yerevan Operational Committee Views Situation

NC2301160790 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0200 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] The operational committee of the republican council on special situations met on 22 January and (?endorsed) the protest of Major General Surkov, chief of the Political Department of the Yerevan garrison and USSR people's deputy. He denied a TASS report aired on central television [word indistinct] program on 21 January.

He officially declared that no one anywhere had attacked Soviet Army units stationed in Armenia and that their deployment has not been disrupted. What is more, no ammunition or weapons have been stolen.

Armenian Internal Affairs Minister Arutyunyan expressed similar indignation about the TASS report. He denied the items reported by the central television, IZVESTIYA, and the MAYAK radio program.

The republic's procurator has officially demanded the USSR procurator general consider legal action against authors of fraudulent information. Such information in no way serves to normalize the situation in the region. Instead, it causes new disturbances and clashes and further exacerbates tension.

No fire was exchanged in the border regions last night. The representatives of the republic and the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic met on Sunday. During the meeting, agreement was reached on exchanging hostages and restoring railway operations. However, representatives of the Azerbaijan People's Front did not implement the agreement.

Rumor of Baku Military Rebellion Rebutted

LD2301164790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1530 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] For 2 days the capital of Azerbaijan has been aroused by the events around the Salyanskiye barracks. From the moment army units and internal troops entered the city, shots have resounded there. Unknown persons fired on the soldiers from the roofs of apartment blocks in the vicinity which were undergoing major repairs. However, rumors spread through the town to the effect that a group of cadets from the Baku Higher Military All-Service Command School and former Afghanistan servicemen had barricaded themselves in the barracks. Hour by hour, fresh details came into being, feeding anti-Army and anti-Russian sentiments, concerning the alleged seizure of an arms dump at the barracks by the rebels, and a multitude of victims.

In the afternoon of 21 January, the concerned public proposed to the commanders that a peaceful end be put to the matter, that those in the barracks be guaranteed immunity in exchange for a cease-fire. People were told of the true state of affairs. But it is better to see once for oneself than to be told a hundred times, and a group of deputies from the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet, accompanied by Colonel Beloshey, of the staff of the Internal Troops Political Directorate, and Muradov, assistant chief of the political department of the republican Ministry of Internal Affairs and chairman of the city Council of Internationalist Servicemen, set off for the barracks. Instead of rebels, they discovered the families of officers and warrant officers. When they met with cadets, the representatives of the public were able to see for themselves that not one cadet or any other serviceman was fighting, weapons in hand, against the army units and internal troops.

'Subversive' Forces Reported

LD2301143490 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1305 GMT 23 Jan 90

["Azerbaijan: The Difficult Path Toward the Truth"—TASS headline]

[Excerpts] Baku, 23 Jan (TASS)—TASS special correspondents Aleksandr Budris and Nikolay Fomin report:[Passage omitted]

On the square by the Central Committee building, antigovernment slogans are painted in meter-high letters. Leaflets directed against the CPSU and the Army have been pasted up all over the town.

A grey-haired old man approached us at the 'Bakinskiy Sovet' subway station. "Don't go to the Salyanskie barracks; they'll kill you." A young man in a raincoat joined in the conversation: "Yes, there in the barracks, our lads, Georgians, and Latvians have taken an arms store, formed a defensive circle, and are firing back at the soldiers." We are quickly surounded by agitated people who, gesticulating furiously, add new details.

Even now we do not doubt that people genuinely believe what they say. It is easy to lose one's head when, for several days now, there have been no newspapers published in the city and when the television is not working.

But returning to our hotel room, we switch on the radio. Amidst the action, the level, calm voice of the military commander rings out: "Comrades, in recent hours rumors have increasingly spread throughout the city to the effect that military students of various nationalities have seized an arms and munitions store. A group of Azerbaijan people's deputies and representatives of the

Baku public have been in the military institute and the so-called Salyanskie barracks and satisfied themselves that these conjectures have absolutely no basis."

Unfortunately, in a situation where the leaflets of the military command are more often than not torn down or pasted over with leaflets with completley different contents, when attempts to carry on a dialogue with people run up against a brick wall of mistrust, the speeches on the radio by Lieutenant-General Vladimir Dubinyak, the city commander, translated by the announcer into Azeri, are so far the most effective method of calming people and extinguishing the emotional passion of thousands of Baku's inhabitants. [passage omitted] It would appear that the measures undertaken are already giving concrete results: The number of fabrications has decreased. Yesterday evening an appeal by officials of the Azerbaijan KGB to the city's inhabitants was broadcast, as was information from AZERINFORM on the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh, where the Azerbaijan flag has been raised above the oblast soviet's building. In such a situation, it is very important to find words which can calm the inhabitants of Baku, where many nationalities live.

But the forces which do not desire the restoration of peace and calm to Azerbaijani soil are continuing their subversive work. Some sort of radio station, 'Azadlyk' ('Freedom'), has forced its way onto the air on the 'Mayak' wavelength, which gives a distorted picture of the situation in the city, which is already complicated enough...[passage omitted]

Measures To Settle Ethnic Conflict Seen

LD2301164390 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 23 Jan 90

[From "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The situation in Transcaucasia remains tense and complex.

This, however, is what is giving us all hope: Whereas in the first days both Armenians and Azerbaijanis were saying there could not be a peaceful settlement to the conflict, today there are already examples where the measures taken to settle the conflict are producing an effect.

In Armenia the voluntary surrender of weapons is spreading. A meeting between the party and soviet leaders of the two republics has taken place in the village of Yeraskh in Araratskiy Rayon. To avoid a further escalation of the conflict it has been decided to make joint efforts to ease the tension.

As a result of the explanatory work being undertaken by the commanders and political bodies of the border troops, agreement has been reached on removing the pickets on the roads. In the last 24 hours the numbers of violations of the USSR state border has decreased.

We hope to have received recent information from Baku and Yerevan by our next bulletin.

Azerbaijan Clergy Appeal for Calm

LD2401082890 Moscow TASS in English 0818 GMT 24 Jan 90

[by TASS special correspondent Alexander Budris and Nikolai Fomin]

[Excerpt] Baku January 24 TASS— "Some people seek to exploit the ordeals that have befallen our nation to sow panic and intimidate the Russian-speaking population, to provoke their departure from Baku," it was pointed out in an appeal to the republic's Russian-speaking people by Nizami Suleiman, corresponding member of the Azerbaijanian Academy of Sciences and member of the republican Council of Elders. "At this difficult hour," he noted in his broadcast speech, the Azerbaijanian people assure you of their immutable friendship. Azerbaijanians wrathfully and indignantly condemn anyone who dares encroach upon our community, to drive a wedge between us. We adhere to a common road and common goal, and we are exerting common efforts for a sovereign, peaceful and flourishing Azerbaijan, which has been and will always be our common home."

On behalf of clergy of the Russian Orthodox Church in Azerbaijan, the Russian-speaking population was addressed on radio by Viktor Lukyanov, archpriest of the Baku Archangel Mikhail Church. "The tragic events in Baku," he said, "have engendered grave consequences. We believe it is our common sorrow and express our wrath and indignation at those who are guilty of the death of people. Many Azerbaijanians, including intellectuals and Muslim believers, come to our church these days and urge us not to dispair. The Azerbaijanian people are a friendly and kind lot," he stressed. "We have always lived and will go on living together with them.

Commentary Criticizes Media Stories on Kurds

NC2301231190 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1900 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Sergey Tashchyan Commentary: "They Are Continuing To Distort the Facts"]

[Excerpts] The PRAVDA "Emotions and Reason" article published 2 years ago set the foundation for the anti-Armenian policy which the central mass media still pursues. Intending to (?silence) the voice of the Armenians in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast who have risen up for their freedom and intending to mislead the public by distorted facts, these hireling pens are making use of their arsenal of stagnation in order to show black as white [passage omitted].

In the face of these reports published with central approval, we moderated our expectations and started to

think hard about the ulterior motive behind these inflamatory publications [passage omitted].

For seven consecutive days Armenians were being killed, beaten up, and massacred in Baku in the most barbaric Turkish manner; their houses were being plundered. Yet, the press was publishing balancing statements. Where were the Soviet people's words of condemnation? Had one of the victims been an Arab or foreigner, then the Soviet press would have begun a wave of protest. Instead of condemnation, the leadership of the country issued a message of condolence addressed to the butcherer and butchered, to the Armenian and Azerbaijani peoples. Only when the Azeri chauvinists finally revealed their trump cards, that is, to withdraw from USSR structure, did they give the situation an international dimension. It was as though the mass media suddenly sobered up and tried to publish a few real facts. Apparently, the authors of these articles were upset by the fact that the Azeris murderers, after cleansing Baku of the Armenians, were starting to deal with other nationals. [passage omitted]

On 22 January, Moscow VREMYA aired a provocative report which was then repeated by all-union radio. The Armenians have allegedly started persecuting the Kurds living in [names of regions indistinct]. The aim is simply this: To pit the Armenian and Kurdish peoples against each other and to exacerbate the situation inside Armenia. And this [word indistinct] calumny is leveled against a people who have given brotherly protection to the Kurdish people and created equal conditions for their survival and advancement. Patience has a limit, too. The republic's leadership must take concrete measures to call to account the writers of such reports and editors of news agencies for publishing and disseminating such fraudulent information inciting interethnic tension.

[Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian at 1700 GMT on 23 January also criticizes central news media reports of alleged Armenian persecution of the Kurds. Reporter Mavr Danielyan says that the aim behind such reports is "to create enmity between the Armenian and Kurdish peoples, to deflect the attention of the public from the real barbarisms, to confuse the Armenians, and to spoil our simple and just problem by fraudulence. The Armenians and the Kurds themselves are enraged." Another report on the same newscast says that the representatives of the Kurdish intellectuals have sent a protest cable to Comrade Gorbachev, the PRAVDA editor, and to USSR Procurator General Sukharev demanding that the culprits be punished.]

Academician Appeals to Non-Azerbaijanis

NC2401061590 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1630 GMT 23 Jan 90

["Appeal" by Academician Nizami Suleymanov to "Russian, Jewish, and other Russian-speaking citizens" in Azerbaijan]

[Text] [Announcer] This is Baku. Nizami Suleymanov, corresponding member of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic Academy of Sciences and member of the Azerbaijan Elders Council, is in our studio. He will now address you:

[Suleymanov] Appeal from the intellectuals of Azerbaijan to the Russian, Jewish, and other Russian-speaking citizens of the republic:

Sisters and brothers, we have lived side by side, [words indistinct], and shared our joy and sorrow. Our homes, our country, and our destiny have been the same. On this somber and sorrowful day for the people of Azerbaijan, we assure you that no one can destroy our friendship.

Even at this grave time, many individuals are provoking non-Azerbaijanis and spreading panic in an effort to make them leave Baku.

Sisters and brothers, do not believe such ignoble rumors. The people of Azerbaijan express their anger and hatred to those who provoke discord among us and shatter our unity. We assure you that we will not allow those harboring such ignoble intentions to succeed. We all have a single path and a single objective; that is, the struggle for the sake of a sovereign and prosperous Azerbaijan. This country will be the home of all of us.

Article Links 'Genocide' to Turkey, Pan-Turkism

NC1701153690 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0545 GMT 17 Jan 90

[From review of KHORHRDAYIN HAYASTAN]

[Text] The paper has published various articles under the following headlines: "State of Emergency," "Criminals Must Be Brought to Account," "[Word indistinct] on Artsakh [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast], "Life Demands Unity and Survival," "A New Genocide in Baku," and "Armenian People Will Defend Their Lives and Honor."

In his article "We Have Lived Like This for Centuries," renowned writer [and USSR People's Deputy] Sero Khanzadyan points out: It is not surprising that this 2-year-old policy of genocide aimed at the extermination of the Armenians is emanating from the den of gray wolves in Ankara and the past and present Aliyevian pan-Turks who have disgracefully become the masters of Kremlin. Our supreme state authorities have thus far not recognized the Sumgait genocide and have not properly punished the muderers. This is even more bizarre in view of the fact even Turkey condemned to death the Armenian haters Talat and Enver [words indistinct]. Our union government, however, gives the seats of authority in Moscow and Baku to the Azerbaijani murders who have turned the party (?cards) into [word indistinct].

Azerbaijanis Complete Bridge Over Aras River

NC2401113290 Paris AFP in English 1108 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Tehran, Jan 24 (AFP)—Azeris in the autonomous region of Nakhichevan on Wednesday finished building a makeshift bridge to Iran across the Aras border river in defiance of Soviet troops, Iranians living in the area said.

Villagers at Pol Dasht, across from Soviet Nakhichevan, also reported having heard sporadic gunfire from the northern side of the river Tuesday, where Soviet troops have stepped up patrols to prevent crossings to Iran.

The prefabricated metal bridge, begun by Soviet Azeris Saturday night, was built 30 km (18 miles) west of Pol Dasht at a point on the river where Soviet forces had destroyed a bridge after World War II.

The official IRNA news agency had reported that Soviet troops had tried to stop construction of the new bridge Tuesday but gave in after what the agency described as an Azeri "ultimatum" to border guards.

The agency said Soviet troops had increased patrols in the area in line with a move to completely seal the border between Soviet Azerbaijan and Iran.

The troops, according to IRNA, have prevented Soviet Azeris from entering Iran but have allowed those who have crossed the border to return under tight security checks.

IRNA said that despite the increased Soviet presence on the border, a group of Azeris managed to cross the Aras to Pol Dasht Tuesday and another group crossed the river back into Nakhichevan. [passage omitted]

Armenians, Azerbaijanis Talk in 'Neutral Zone'

PM2301173590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 6

[Own correspondent S. Bablumyan report: "Neutral Zone"]

[Text] Yerevan-Yeraskh, 23 Jan—Two barriers separating Armenian and the Nakhichevan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. And between them a strip of "no-man's-land." A State Automobile Inspection post stands there, wedged tightly between combat hardware and surrounded by a ring of internal troops submachine gunners. Meetings are currently being held here on neutral ground between representatives of the two republics' leadership and informal organizations. The latest meeting lay ahead on the day I went there.

First a couple of words about the results of the previous meetings. There have not been many at all as yet. One can only talk of any serious shifts in the talks in the sense that both sides have agreed to pull back from one another. For several days now no shots have rung out around the village of Yeraskh. But this stillness is, I repeat, a fragile one and may be shattered at any moment. An impression confirmed by Major General M. Surkov, an "old hand" at the talks and USSR people's deputy.

"Thanks to political methods it has now proved possible to preserve just an unsteady equilibrium and no more," the general said.

Toward noon we entered the State Automobile Inspection building. In the cramped closet a small table stood by a stove, to which soldiers' beds had been moved. The Armenian side was represented by a member of the Armenian National Movement, the Azerbaijani side by two leaders of the People's Front and the autonomous republic's deputy minister of internal affairs. KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent V. Kosyrev was also present.

What was discussed? The actual possibility of the further continuation of the discussion at all. In order for the dialogue to be able to continue further, authentic information had to be obtained that V. Oganesyan of Kirovakan, who was wounded the day before and taken hostage, was still alive. The Armenian National Movement representative was unbending on this condition. All the other side's assurances that everything was OK with the hostage proved useless. Irrefutable proof was demanded.

Then Gen. M. Surkov made a decision: "Let us fly now by helicopter to Nakhichevan and conduct an on-the-spot investigation. KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's correspondent will meet with the wounded man and record what he says on a dictaphone. Let's waste no time..."

They returned just over 4 hours later. The trip, as one might have expected, proved difficult but the goal was achieved: Our colleague brought back a dictaphone recording of his conversation with the hostage and this removed all doubts. A little later, on my return to the office, I let the hostage's father hear his son's voice.

"Do you think," he asked after a heavy pause, "that they will release him?"

However, further talks that day were broken off: A subunit of airborne assault troops had entered Nakhichevan. But here is a report obtained on the morning of 23 January from A. Akopyan, first secretary of Araratskiy Rayon Party Committee:

"At noon today," he said over the telephone, "it was decided to continue the dialogue. The deputy chairman of the Armenian Council of Ministers is expected to arrive. The lifting of the railroad blockade and, of course, discussion of measures to further stabilize the situation in Yeraskh are on the agenda."

On leaving the neutral zone I gave my word to carry out Gen. M. Surkov's request. The essence of his request was as follows: The mass media must be supremely objective in covering events in the region.

Armenia, Nakhichevan, NKAO Situation Described

NC2301222490 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1700 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] The ARMENPRES correspondent was provided the following information at the operational committee attached to the republican council on the special situation:

The situation along the border regions remains exceedingly tense. There were no [word indistinct] and no fire was exchanged along the border on 22 January. Attempts were made at night to steal various ammunition. Information coming in from the various republic militia departments indicates weapons confiscated earlier are being returned.

Negotiations are continuing with the representatives of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic at the border region in Araratskiy Rayon. During the negotiations, lifting the blockade of the rails and roads, releasing Armenian hostages taken earlier, and other issues were discussed.

The committee endorsed the republic procuracy's statement that it has begun a campaign against the deplorable news carried by the mass media [word indistinct] and their writers. The last two TASS reports were specifically cited as aiming to create disagreement between the population and the Soviet Army and to instigate an Armenian-Kurdish [word indistinct].

The pilots again could not make any flights, despite the fact that considerable amounts of foodstuffs, medication, clothes, and generators have accumulated in Yerevan, Kamo, and Vartenis. The Armenians of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO], Shaumyanovskiy Rayon, and Getashen Subrayon are impatiently waiting for these items.

In Yerevan clinics, 202 people forcibly uprooted from Baku are undergoing treatment. The previous day [words indistinct].

As was the case before, the NKAO is under a blockade. It has neither telephone nor telex lines with the outside world. The situation is explosive. The only safeguards for the security of the population are USSR internal affairs ministry troops and Soviet Army units. As has been reported by the military commandant of the district under the state of emergency, the commandant's office continues to receive alarming reports. Transportation of armed Azeris in unmarked helicopters to Agdam, Shushi, Khochalu, Malibeyly, and (?Gharvan) settlements continued on 21 and 22 January. The military commandant has officially warned the Shusha television station which, in the name of Islamic unity, is broadcasting calls for armed fighting against the Soviet state and Army and against the oblast's Russians and Armenians.

(?Identity document checks and searches for arms) have begun in the district where the state of emergency is in effect. In Stepanakert, 14 people have been detained for violating curfew hours the previous day. In his statement addressed to the population of the oblast and adjoining Azerbaijani regions, Military Commandant Major General [name indistinct] stated that the military commandant of the district will implement measures for the roads to be unblocked with the assistance of the troops, subunits, and local population.

Secession Threatened

NC2301192390 Tehran International Service in Arabic 1730 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] In a strongly worded warning to the Soviet Union, the House of Representative in the Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan has declared that it will begin to discuss secession from Moscow if the Soviet Army troops do not withdraw from the Republic of Azerbaijan by dawn on 24 January.

The representative of the Azeri Popular Front in Moscow, who made this declaration, is quoted by UPI as having said that last night the parliament of Soviet Azerbaijan endorsed a decision giving the Soviet Army until 0600 tomorrow morning to pull out from this republic; otherwise, it will discuss secession from Moscow. The Azeri Popular Front's representative added that secession from the Soviet Union by the republic would not be considered a breach of the Constitution because Article 72 of the Constitution gives the right to any republic to secede from the Soviet Union with complete freedom.

UPI reports that despite this ultimatum, there are no indications of a possible withdrawal by the Soviet troops, who are heading for the Nakhichevan area, which previously declared its secession from the Soviet Union.

Nakhichevan TV Announcers in Islamic Dress

LD2401111590 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1030 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Text] According to an IRNA report from Pol Dasht, female announcers and presenters on Nakhichevan television, in an unprecedented action in Soviet Azerbaijan, last night appeared on television wearing black scarves and Islamic dress. According to this report, Nikhichevan television at noon yesterday broadcast for the first time some verses from the holy Koran.

Political & Social

Estonian Activist on Secession, New Party

AU2301113090 Vienna PROFIL in German 22 Jan 90 p 50

[Interview with Marju Lauristin, member of Supreme Soviet and spokeswoman of Estonian Popular Front, by Kerstin Witt: "There Is Danger of Mass Protests"—in Tallinn, date not given]

[Text] PROFIL: In Lithuania Mikhail Gorbachev has announced a law on the secession of individual republics from the USSR. What do you think about it?

Lauristin: I am surprised. When we left Moscow on 24 December nobody knew anything about any such a law. Not even the members of the law-making commission. A corresponding proposal was raised only once by a spokesman of Interfront (the Russian countermovement to the Popular Front in the Baltic Republics—the editors), combined with the threat that, if the Balts were to secede from the USSR, they would have to pay billions in compensation for the enterprises that were built there. This is why we fear that such a law rather prevents the possibility of secession, because it creates political and economic obstacles. According to rumors this means that we would have to pay off debts for 10 years.

PROFIL: Is it not also of advantage for the Balts when a discussion on possible secession can now begin on a broader basis?

Lauristin: It is above all a symbol of how pragmatic and flexible a leader Mikhail Gorbachev is, which is exactly what I like about him. Perhaps it really is possible that parliament can decide on the question of secession. However, this is a path that has nothing to do with the situation of the Baltic states. After all, we are nothing else but a territory that was annexed, and we would like to be recognized as such. We never joined the USSR and therefore we do not want to leave it. However, the Soviet public is getting accustomed to the term secession. To us it is important that the Baltic question is dealt with at the second Helsinki Conference, a meeting between all European heads of state and government. The Baltic question cannot be solved in the USSR alone.

PROFIL: What are the effects on Estonia of the Lithuanian Communist Party's decision to split off from the CPSU?

Lauristin: The Estonian Communist Party will not repeat this example. The Lithuanian secession was possible because there was virtual unanimity within the Communist Party—less than 13 percent were against it. In Estonia things are different. The party is divided almost in the middle, in the party cadres the conservatives even hold a slight majority. Thus, the Estonian Communist Party will never be able to secede from the CPSU. Our model is to step up the importance of parliamentary decisions. The Estonian Supreme Soviet has already declared illegal and annulled the 1940 declaration of annexation to the USSR, and now we must take the next steps.

PROFIL: What are these next steps?

Lauristin: I hope that we will be able to hold a referendum this year on whether we remain within the USSR or establish an independent republic. The year 1990 will be the 50th anniversary of the occupation, which is a dangerous anniversary. The atmosphere within the population is such that mass protests are possible, and we need political forms to express this atmosphere. We must not wait for the masses to take to the street. A referendum on secession could be a path for channelling the atmosphere.

PROFIL: You were recently elected chairwoman of the Estonian "Social Democratic Independence Party." What role do you perceive for this party in Estonia?

Lauristin: We want to establish guarantees for our future. I see the danger of a sharp trend to the right if we break our ties with the USSR. We might serve as a counterweight in this process. Our party has now been established, but it will operate in the future, free Estonia. We are in favor of the market economy, but we also know that this entails social problems. We want to help solve these problems. We are guided by the Scandinavian example.

PROFIL: What is the difference between this party and the Estonian Communist Party? Many Communist Party leaders now say things similar to social democrats.

Lauristin: That is true. Just look at our sociopolitical ideas and you will notice many similarities between reform-minded Communist Party cadres and social democrats. However, the differences lie in the current Communist Party leadership's relationship to power. In practice the Communist Party wants to continue exercising the leading role within society. However, in reality this is no longer legitimized considering the support from the population. Yet since the Communist Party is unqualified to tackle the problems of our time, we believe that a separate political structure must be set up independently of it.

Estonian Social Democratic Party Discussed

Party Founded

PM1701094690 Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET in Swedish 13 Jan 90 p 16

[FINSKA NOTISBYRAN dispatch: "Estonia Now Has A Social Democratic Party"]

[Text] Tallinn—A group of former members of the Estonian Communist Party have founded a social democratic party despite tough opposition. The official name of the party will the Estonian Social Democratic Independence Party, ESDIP.

The foundation of the party was preceded by the social democratic forum held in Tartu Thursday and Friday [11-12 January]. Observers from the Nordic countries, and from Britain, Canada, and Hungary took part in the forum. The Finnish Social Democratic Party was represented by international affairs secretary Jouko Elo.

The Estonian Social Democrats, who were meeting for the first time after a break of 50 years, received greetings from the Estonian Social Democratic Party which is active in Sweden. The greetings were delivered by the party's 83-year-old chairman, Johannes Mihkelsson.

After World War II around 30 Estonian Social Democrats fled to Sweden. There they founded their own party which has been active right up to the present day. They are now offering to help the new Social Democratic Party to make international contacts. They have also promised to work for ESDIP membership of the Socialist International.

Those who have been involved in the foundation of the new Social Democratic Party include Marju Lauristin, Rein Veidemann, and Ylo Vooglaid, all former Communist Party members. They have come up against powerful opposition from Communist Party leader Vayno Vyalyas and party secretary Mikk Titma. According to these latter, now is not the right time to found the party, but that its foundation should have been postponed until the Communist Party had held its meeting of representatives [representantmoete] later this spring. The meeting will make decisions about the party's future role and the thrust of its activities.

Titma, who was also present in Tartu, pointed out at a news conference Friday that the situation for the political left wing in Estonia will now be very difficult.

The reason for the Communist Party leadership's opposition has been a fear that after so many party members have left, the party will find itself under the domination of the Russian Interdvizheniye.

Many Communist Party Central Committee members, including Enn Poldroos, have nevertheless left the party and consider that nothing can now save it.

In an article in NOORTE HAAL several people who have left the party write that the most recent opinion polls show that only 4 percent of Estonians support the Communist Party.

At the same time the article's authors criticize the fact that the Estonian Communist Party has not followed the example of the Lithuanian Communist Party which has declared its independence from the CPSU. In the article the Estonian Communist Party is described as the hostage of the CPSU.

The Estonian Social Democrats also received some advice from Hungarian Social Democratic Party Deputy Chairman Gabor Szilagy:

"Do everything quickly. Organize your own people and set parliament to work. If you spend a long time thinking about things, you will only be wasting time.

Holds First Meeting

LD1501161890 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1800 GMT 14 Jan 90

[Text] Here in Tallinn the founding congress of the Social-Democratic Association has come to an end. Over to Ain Saarna.

[Saarna] Before lunch a resolution was adopted with respect to founding the association; its constitution and declaration were endorsed. The declaration states that within the 5 perestroyka years it has become clear that CPSU is not capable of leading the process of development in the USSR.

Thereafter, the leading bodies of the Association were formed. The association now has three cochairmen. Despite attempts to withdraw, Vello Saatpalu, leader of Estonian Democratic Labor Party was elected unanimously as one of the chairmen. Economist (Oleg Rumyantsev) of Moscow become the second cochairman, and (Nikolay Gusov), USSR people's deputy of Orenburg, the third. The following brief interview is with the letter.

I asked him if now, in his person, the Social-Democratic Association will also be represented in the USSR parliament. The reply was somewhat unexpected.

[Begin (Gusov) recording in Russian with Saarna report in Estonian superimposed] (Nikolay Gusov) has been engaged in setting up a social-democratic section of USSR people's deputies and at the moment it associates 72 USSR deputies. Among them are representatives of the Ukraine, Kazakhsta.., Russia, Lithuania, and other union republics. Estonians so far have not joined the social-democratic section but in the future (Nikolay Gusov) expects the ranks to be increased and in the future the social-democratic party will evidently acquire bigger force.

I enquired about (Nikolay Gusov) himself. (Nikolay Gusov) is a USSR people's deputy elected from Orenburg and for that reason he is currently living in Moscow. Previously he was working as a Komsomol secretary of the military unit of the USSR army. His rank is senior lieutenant; profession, radioelectronics engineer. As a former Komsomol worker and a CPSU member he has now adopted social-democratic stances and will now discontinue his CPSU membership.

The congress resolution envisages that the Social-Democratic Association will become a juridical person. This, however, presupposes official registration as is known.

The Social-Democratic Association will apply for registration by the USSR Supreme Soviet. In case of a refusal, the only opportunity of registration would be in one of the Baltic union republics.

This is what a USSR people's deputy, one of the three cochairmen of the Social-Democratic Association, (Nikolay Gusov) opined. [end recording]

The congress adopted a resolution in support of the independence endeavors of the Baltic union republics, and some other political documents. And as far as I could see, not one of these documents bowed to [words indistinct]

In any event, the Estonian Democratic Labor Party has taken a heavy load upon itself [passage indistinct].

Estonian Editor on Breaking Ties With Party

LD2301200590

[Editorial Report] Tallinn MAALEHT in Estonian on 11 January carries a self-interview with the newspaper's editor, Ulo Russak, on page 13. Russak contemplates the paper's relationship with the Estonian Communist Party. The paper's header no longer says that MAALEHT is the publication of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee. Instead it calls itself "A weekly for Country Folk."

However, the newspaper is not yet free of the Estonian Communist Party, Russak notes. "I would like to put it like this: MAALEHT at the moment is like Estonia. Officially sovereignty has indeed been declared but a thousand and one economic ties link it to the big homeland. The newspaper, like the majority of the newspapers printed in Tallinn, is chained to the Estonian Communist Party by its printing basis," he claims.

Russak has faith, however, that the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet will adopt a law on journalism during the course of the year. Then newspapers will become independent, he concludes.

Estonian Smuggling Case Questioned

90UN0614A Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 3 Jan 90 p 4

[Article by V. Proscura: "Gangsters and Philanthropists"]

[Text] **"Does it smell of politics when somebody tries to smuggle canisters of a strong agent that may be qualified as a chemical weapon? We think it does."**

Thus ends the letter written by the workers of the Tallinn production association "Dvigatel". The letter was received by the Baltic bureau of our newspaper together with New Year greetings and best wishes of the factory workers on the occasion of the first issue of the RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA. This kind of a summary question seemed rather pointed for the generally festive overtones of the message. However, let us tell all this in order.

The central press already published the information of the ESSR [Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic] Committee for State Security about the arrest of Priyt Ilves. Ilves, a sailor of the Estonian sea line, was detained in the port of Tallinn after 101 canister of a foreign-made poison gas were found in his possession.

The "goods" in this case seemed so unusual even for the Tallinn port employees who have seen a lot that all kinds of rumors began to be spread. The refutation of the ESSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] based on the materials of the preliminary investigation did not help to calm anyone. It claimed that "as for any connection between Ilves' actions and the activity of any popular movements or organizations, or any definite events, all rumors of it are totally groundless."

The republican Supreme Court Board for Criminal Cases sentenced P. Ilves to three years of corrective labor at a construction site with confiscation of property. Many people were relieved following the verdict as it was comparatively light and that made them believe in the story of "mere" smuggling which failed.

What then remains unclear to the "Dvigatel" workers? Nothing—they insist in their letter. They are just amazed at the number of media in the republic who keep repeating, as if ordered, one and the same thing. Namely: There was nothing political about the story; it was just a case of smuggling and hard currency trading.

"In the first place, contraband of chemical weapons always "smells" of politics. The canisters of poison gas could end up in anyone' hands after the black market, not necessarily in those of "pure" criminals. In the second place, an "apolitical" theft as well as hard currency trading are nothing but politics too," think the authors of the letter.

It was established in the course of the investigation and during the trial that P. Ilves, mechanic on the dry cargo ship "F. Rosin", left then on a foreign voyage and took with him 8.6 kg of black caviar, 10 bottles of vodka, 3,400 Finnish markkas, 600 Norwegian krones, and 100 Swedish kronas. In a Bremen bank he exchanged the Scandinavian money for West German currency and in the same port he sold the caviar and the vodka. After that, on top of buying 101 gas canisters, he also purchased an "Audi" car.

It was not the first import/export operation for Ilves. Three months earlier he brought from Bremen 21 gas canisters and sold them for 3,800 rubles. Buyers found him through intermediaries. One of those go-betweens, Raivo Susi, asked him to bring another hundred canisters.

I do not want to guess whether any of them has anything to do with the nationalist extremist groups the idea of which, understandably, bothers the letter-writers. I cannot but agree with the "Dvigatel" workers: All the gangsters as well as their suppliers and protectors really are our political enemies, even if they pray to just one "cosmopolitan" god—the golden calf.

Latvian Central Committee Plenum Held

'Action Program' Discussed

LD2301180590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] The 18th Plenum of the Latvian Communist Party [LCP] Central Committee was held in Riga today. Taking part in its work was Comrade Baklanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. Our correspondent Nina Meshkhun, reports:

[Meshkhun] The plenum made the decision to convene the next, 25th LCP Congress in June this year. It discussed the difficult political situation in the republic,

and set the basic bearings of ideological and organizational work on the eve of the congress and the course for the implementation of the party's action program on the path of Latvia's sovereignty, which was adopted by the previous plenum.

The current LCP Central Committee plenum convened at a difficult moment in the life of the republic's communists. The fate of the LCP's unity today concerns its friends and foes, as well as all Communists of the republic. Unfortunately, new norms of political life are not replacing the ossified ones as quickly as could be wished. And the birth of the new is coupled with labor pains, as nature prescribes. The road across virgin political soil is difficult, but the party of Communists, if it wants to remain the true leader, guiding the people, has to take upon itself the full extent of responsibility for both the past and the future, and by way of purification courageously lead to the revival of its authority among the people, to the establishment of a democratic and humane society.

This was told me by (Albert Ernestovich Kaus), hero of socialist labor, general director of the Adezhi agricultural company who today heads the Union of Latvian Agricultural Workers:

[Begin (Kaus) recording] Well, I am concerned that the party's leading cadres have digressed from fulfilling their obligations with respect to society and the party. They should implement both the program decisions adopted by the party and everything connected with restructuring in order for the party, as such to work among the masses and for the people.

You know that in Latvia a kind of democratic block has been organized which calls on the population for elections without Communists. This, of course, has left a certain mark on the mood of the population. At the same time, neither Soviet power nor the Communist Party itself is advocating an appraisal of this call. This is simply incomprehensible. So where are we heading now? So I think that the situation really is alarming, all in all, and it is clear that at least those who realise their responsibility before the people should mobilize themselves because anarchy will not lead to any kind of success or well-being for the people. Those hollow calls for independence, for sovereignty, are unfounded. No one of them there can explain what this will give the people. Of course, there should be independence, but we should provide any kind of slogan with an economic foundation, and in the first instance should always answer the question: What will this give the people? How much will it improve their well-being? How will the resolution of social issues be speeded up?

And I think that today, more than ever, we also have to realise the importance of unity, of the unity of the people, the unity of all progressive forces. [end recording]

Correspondents Report

LD2301232290 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 23 Jan 90

[From "Vremya" newscast; report by correspondents N. Kasyanova, A. Zanderson, and S. Slipchenko]

[Text] [Announcer] In Riga today, a plenum of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee was held.

[Begin recording] [Kasyanova] Today's plenum of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee assembled at a moment that is not a simple one in the life of the republic's Communists. The slow and difficult way along the path of democratization, the unsolved problems in the economy, and serious errors that have been made, as well as use of errors by political opponents, have given rise to the acute demarcation of ideas and views. A multiparty system in the republic has become a reality and is now consolidated in the Latvian constitution. Already almost 30 parties and public political organizations are battling for the hearts and minds of the people. Now, like a reflection of the problems in the republic today, there were empty newspaper stands. Not a single republican newspaper came out as a result of the many-year-long rallies and picketing, and the demands of the public to close down the Sloka pulp and paper mill, an ecologically unfriendly enterprise. Today, in the press house there is a large meeting of journalists and printworkers who essentially have become unemployed.

[A. Zanderson] The polarization of opinions in the Communist Party of Latvia has reached an extremely dangerous limit. This is not the observation of journalists, but a quote from the report by Yan Yanovich Vagris, first secretary of the Central Committee. At the plenum there were many scathing comments and emotional speeches. Comrade Vagris proposed holding a routine party congress in June this year, but those speaking asserted that it would be difficult to report to the congress, for more had been broken down than built up. At the present time it is clear that there is no unity at the plenum, but it is also clear that the plenum is a frank one.

What is happening on the day of the plenum in Latvia? Is the absence of newspapers accidental?

[Kasyanova] Vilnis Gedertovich, the failure of the republican newspapers to come out today is an extraordinary occurrence which already goes beyond the framework of a local scale. How can you explain this? What is the matter?

[V.G. Bresis, chairman of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic Council of Ministers] All the inhabitants of our republic, and those who do not live in our republic, evidently should realise one absolute truth quite clearly—that we can consume, we can in actual fact put on the market only what we ourselves really produce. This is the most important requirement for the republic's financial autonomy, and those voices that today again are addressing the center, saying that the center is

putting the squeeze on the republic, that the center is not allotting that paper—it is to my great regret that this is coming from the mouths of those who have not understood the essence of financial autonomy. Here we must sort things out in our own home.

[Slipchenko] The whole republic, and then, I think, the whole of the Soviet Union is concerned about the issue of what is happening at the present time. In what situation is the plenum in Latvia taking place? Is the situation we observed quite recently in Lithuania recurring or is the situation different? Judging from the atmosphere, it can be said that the situation is not recurring. The Latvian Communist Party Central Committee plenum is taking its own path, has found its path. One can say that here there is much more level-headedness, pluralism of opinions, and tolerance. [end recording]

[Announcer] Comrade Baklanov was taking part in the plenum.

Report on 11 Jan Latvian Supreme Soviet

LD2101162990

[Editorial Report] Riga Domestic Service in Latvian at 0800 GMT on 11 January carries a live relay of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR) Supreme Soviet session. Anatoliy Gorbunov, chairman of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, chairs the session.

Gorbunov greets the deputies and reads out the agenda for the session which consists of the following points:

1. Report of the mandate commission on the problems of deputies arrival for the last session.
2. Latvian SSR draft laws on local self-government and system of the people's self-government.
3. Articles 6, 7 and 49 of the Latvian SSR Constitution.
4. Information on work results of further development of horticultural societies in Riga and Limbazi Rayons.
5. Information by Deputy Cepanis on the work of a working group investigating the consequences of army sub-units' activity upon the republic's environment.
6. Changes and amendments to Latvian SSR land code and to Latvian SSR law on peasants' farms in the Latvian SSR.
7. USSR draft law on property in the USSR.
8. Information on USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium's decision on the incompatibility of some legislative acts of union republics with the USSR Constitution.
9. The USSR law on the economic independence of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia coming into force in the territory of Latvia.
10. Changes and amendments to the Latvian SSR criminal procedure code.
11. State flag, anthem, and coat of arms.
12. Attitude toward the USSR law on constitution supervision.
13. Latvian SSR Government's information on ensuring food products to the republics' inhabitants.
14. Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium's decree on alterations and amendments in some Latvian SSR legislative acts on confirming of people's deputies elections.
15. Changes in the composition of some Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet permanent commissions.
16. Deputies' demands and questions.
17. Various questions.

The consideration of the third point of the agenda, on Articles 6, 7, and 49 of the Latvian SSR Constilution begins at 1040 GMT.

It is opened by a report by Visvaris Millers, chairman of the editorial commission, who refers to a new wording of the mentioned articles being adopted in the first reading at the Supreme Soviet on 28 December, at the same time adopting in the first reading a declaration on the activity of the Communist Party of Latvia in the territory of Latvia. These documents were published in the press on 31 .December, allowing everyone an opportunity to express their standpoint on them. Millers thanked for the proposals. During the interim period the commission had continued its work in perfecting the wording of the articles.

Millers says the commission had, firstly, analyzed the public opinion on this question, and secondly, they had continued editing the text of the articles and the declaration. Since the end of the last year the Presidium had received 185 letters in all with several thousand signatures, as well as telegrams and resolutions.

Millers notes that the following "have sent their proposals for changing the contents of Articles 6, 7 and 49: the Soviets of People's Deputies of Ventspils and Aluksne Rayons, 10 deputies of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet, the Second Congress of the Jurists' Society of Latvia and the Dome of the People's Front of Latvia". Millers notes that Dainis Ivans, chairman of the people's Front, and his deputy Ivars Godmanis had actively participated in the work of the editorial commission.

Millers says "re-examination of the wording of Article 6 has been demanded by party committee plenums of 8 rayons and by 38 party primary organizations." After publication in the press many opinions were received. Thirty-two letters had supported the first reading's wording of the articles. Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Deputies Rode and Solovev had sent written proposals. Rode's proposal that we already had a multi-party system had been taken into account in perfecting the wording of Article 6—there had been similar proposals in other letters. The proposal by Rode, Solovev, and some citizens "to use 'public and public/political organizations' term in Article 6, 7 and 49 was repeatedly discussed at the sittings of both the editorial and the Constitution commissions, and insofar as in such an event other types of public organizations, societies, creative unions should also be discussed, the commissions have decided to mention in Article 6, 7 and 49 only

public organizations, because they include within themselves all the other types of organizations."

Deputy Rode's proposal on an amendment to Article 49 had been taken into account by amending Article 6 with an additional version which the deputies had received.

Millers says "the proposal of Deputy Solovev of including the words 'the Communist Party of Latvia' in Article 6 has also been taken into consideration in the new wording of this article." Identical proposals had also been received from other persons, as well as from the Bureau of the Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee.

"We could not accept the proposal by citizen Malnieks of using in place of Latvian SSR the Republic of Latvia, because the title of our republic is the Latvian SSR, says Millers.

Analysis of constitutions of many other countries showed that everywhere the term parties and not political parties was used. A proposal by citizen Bluka that an obligation of creating conditions for fulfilment of organizations' programs should not be imposed upon the state was included in Article 49.

Millers says "the new wording of Articles 6, 7 and 49 of the Constitution was thoroughly analyzed at a sitting of the Bureau of the Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee on 9 January," with editorial corrections being introduced into the text of the articles and of the declaration. On 10 and 11 January the wording of the articles and the declaration was discussed at a sitting of the editorial and Constitution commissions, after many hours' discussion new wording was adopted, and was offered to the deputies.

Despite disputes the new wording was unanimously adopted in the end. On the proposal by USSR People's Deputy Juris Bojars an additional version of Article 6 was being provided.

A letter had been received from Abolins, a delegate to the 20th Congress of the Social Democratic Workers Party of Latvia, in which he disputed the thesis that the Communist Party of Latvia was a legal inheritor of the party founded in 1904—but all the historical documents and facts showed that the Communist Party of Latvia was the legal inheritor of the party founded in 1904.

Millers concludes by saying that taking into account all proposals he regarded that they could confirm the wording of Articles 6, 7 and 49 and the declaration as offered to the deputies, but the addition to Article 6 had to be decided separately. Millers' 18-minute report ends at 1058 GMT, at which time questions are invited.

Deputy Osmanis, referring to the text of the declaration, quotes from a paragraph from the Russian version on the party's inclusion into the VKP(b) (All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks) in 1940 by a decision of the VKP(b)'s Central Committee and asks whether this text of the Politburo's decision had been found in the end. Millers replies that this question had been repeatedly discussed. He says "for the time being" the documents were not there, but he thought that in the declaration such an assertion could be made.

USSR People's Deputy Avotins asks why the Communist Party was especially singled out in Article 6 in the draft law. Millers replies that the Communist Party must submit to the Constitution and all the laws the same as all other public organizations and parties, but Avotins insists: "But where is the sense in mentioning it?" Gorbunov says issues are not to be discussed—deputies should simply ask questions and their turn to speak would come in the debate, if they applied to join the long list of speakers.

USSR People's Deputy Rubiks asks Millers why the text distributed today differed from that which had been agreed yesterday at the commission, which contained his proposal to Article 49. He reads: "Latvian SSR citizens have the right of uniting themselves in parties and other public organizations which do not advance aims and whose practical activity is not directed towards a violent overthrow. These words have been omitted". Millers says he thinks that such a proposal was not adopted by vote at the Constitution commission. Gorbunovs explains about the editorial commission which was working under Millers, and the permanent Constitution commission which also met yesterday, and, although without the prescribed majority, had accepted such an addition. Millers agrees to include it now.

After some questions and an exchange between a deputy and Millers about the law on parties—during which millers explains that there should not was no need for a referendum on amendments to Article 6—Gorbunovs begins at 1100 GMT to deal with procedural matters concerning the speakers to follow in the debate.

Deputy Goris talks about his positive attitude towards the amendments but says the standpoint of the Supreme Soviet's party group had remained overshadowed. "Unfortunately, our party group's conferences were neither broadcast nor reflected in the press, and, therefore, it is not known to the larger public that at the initiative of the party group this question was included on the agenda, as was the question on the declaration of sovereignty of Latvia.

"I hope that the majority will vote for these changes in the Constitution—it would serve a purpose if we would tell publicly to the entire party organization, would tell our people the three following opinions:

"Firstly. Why we are voting for these changes in the Constitution.

"Secondly, that these changes do not at all mean a political demobilization of the Communist Party of Latvia, and, thirdly, how we see our activity's further directions in a new law-governed atmosphere.

Gloris suggests that such a question of future activity should be discussed at the party group of deputies at an interval with a view of a probable adoption and publication of such a statement. Finally, concerning the wording of Article 6 with regard that the Communist Party and other parties and public organizations operate under the procedure laid down by the Constitution and other laws, he objects to the wording in the laws because these were not known and he could not vote for laws he had not read or seen.

At 1114 GMT the speaker is Deputy Lubova Zile, a historian, who reminds that although they were continuing to discuss changes to Articles 6, 7 and 49, "the people decided this question positively a long time ago.... Opinions were expressed unanimously" that Article 6 must be excluded from the Constitution. Zile says she will dwell on this question because it is very important. She names some 15 organizations from which had come unanimous support and a request for changing Article 6. Participants in many discussions she attended had convincingly recommended to change the party's role in Soviet society's political structure.

Zile makes proposals concerning the wording of Articles 6 and 7, and the declaration. Concerning the declaration, she says: "The next paragraph, where the text begins: After the expulsion of the Mensheviks. We are again thinking, as we thought before, that the truth had always belonged to the party, and specifically to the Communist Party, and to the Bolsheviks. Therefore, please, there should not be in this text—after the expulsion of the Mensheviks, but—after the leaving of the Mensheviks, we now know from the history".

After this Gorbunovs explains that proposals and addenda were now being discussed, but not the conception itself, and that any formulations had to be printed and distributed to the commission and to everyone.

The next speaker, at 1121 GMT, is USSR People's Deputy Bojars who begins by telling that the work done in the preparation of the Constitution amendments was very important and he invites the deputies to vote for the text as a whole and after that to discuss possible corrections and small addenda, because the text, on the whole, is a balanced one, with additional great deal having been done on it as late as yesterday. Yesterday and today one or another deputy has spoken, proposing "to postpone all this matter until some kind of better times" but Bojars thinks that if the events in the other socialist countries have not provided lessons to anybody, then those people have no business in politics at all. He thinks that deputies must work at reorganizations themselves, and as soon as possible.

Bojars says that the leading role of the CPSU has not justified itself, and is not being shown either in shops or in the standard of democracy. These are "the most important questions of principle of why we must adopt these corrections."

He says the monopoly of one party in determining the policy of the state completely contradicts the principle of the people's sovereignty and with the "all power to the Soviets" slogan. "If we want, at last, to return to this slogan, then, without doubt, we must correct Article 6."

Bojars says "only, you see, this monopoly of power of a single party has led to those dreadful usurpations of power, to deeds of malevolence and to mass repressions."

He notes that the thesis of Lenin that the political will of social strata can be ascertained by the mediation of political parties has not lost its value at all. Therewith a multi-party system is absolutely unavoidable, the parties coordinating their policies afterwards for reaching common national goals within the framework of parliamentarism.

"Building of a democratic society is possible only under the conditions of a free competition of political forces, only under the conditions of a free competition, says Bojars. He believes that the slogan "Soviets without Communists," which has become topical in a part of the society, "is in every possible way undemocratic, excluding a free competition of all political parties in the political arena and especially in the parliament. I think that apart from it being undemocratic this slogan is simply dishonest, because it automaticaly excludes the possibility that among communists there could be eminent personalities worthy of the trust of the people. The two last elections absolutely disprove this."

Bojars' attitude towards the draft law is entirely positive and he regards it as absolutely necessary that nothing be postponed any longer. He notes a new point raised yesterday in Article 6, line 55: "And cannot fulfill the functions of the organs of State power." This point "has an extraordinarily important political significance of principle, because as you know the party apparatus and especially the highest echelon of the party apparatus actually themselves usurped the functions of organs of State power."

Bojars says "One more little word, 'and administration', must be inserted after "State Power." Because, as we know, on the scale of the entire Soviet Union the practice of adopting joint decisions of the Council of Ministers and the Central Committee—which formerly had the character of normative acts—has already been stopped.

"There is one more problem. Our party has monopolized not only the power, but also the competence of setting out the state policy. Therefore, I regard as absolutely right, under the conditions when the State policy is being drawn up and set out by the parliament, to insert in addition, to conclude this phrase with the following words, so it will be like this, as a whole; 'all parties and cannot fulfill the functions of the organs of state power and administration and to lay claim to advantages in the formulation of state policy.' Why is this so important? Formerly this monopoly role belonged to the Communist Party, but now public organizations are arising

which lay claim to this monopoly role. Such claims of course exclude a free political game in our society".

On yesterday's proposals of enumerating in Article 49 what kind of political parties could not operate in the Latvian SSR, Bojars says: We, however, decided to postpone this question for the law on parties and public organizations and to let remain only the proposition that parties which appeal for the overthrow of the existing state system or other anti-constitutional aims cannot operate".

At 1129 GMT Bojars concludes by again inviting to vote for the draft as a whole and to examine the proposed addition.

After the speech by Bojars, Gorbunovs tells jurist Plotnieks that he has not registered himself to speak and that although his contribution to legislation was appreciated, they could not, after commissions' examination, begin lawyers' discussions from the very start again. He asks all the lawyers whether this decision on the amendments was in contradiction with the questions raised by them. Gorbunovs claims that it was not, and he could answer to them and to all the other inhabitants of the republic. But if everyone would now start forming their own wordings of the articles, where would that end? He does not want to agree with them to continue discussion on any change. If they had objections, he did not want to restrict their action or, even more, their choice in voting, but he did not want to go where the majority did not want to go.

At 1131 GMT Deputy Leons Vitols, a member of the Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee speaks. He agrees with the chairman that there would not be any sense in extensive discussions on the subject which, essentially, was very clear.

Vitols says the people are now living according to Brezhnev's Constitution. Although it is not customary in this country to call legislative acts by the names of their authors, as is the case in many countries of the world, Lenin's Constitution, Brezhnev's Constitution, and Stalin's Constitution are nevertheless known among the people. It is a big paradox trying to direct restructuring according to Brezhnev's Constitution. The stance of the USSR People's Deputies in trying to adhere as strictly as possible to the Constitution, with the establishment of a Constitution supervision committee, is incomprehensible and, in the speaker's opinion, this imposes a frame upon restructuring. Therefore, the corrections in the republic's Constitution are important.

Vitols notes the number of times Brezhnev had been mentioned in the speeches and report at the eighth extraordinary session of the ninth convocation: At least one paragraph in every speech and a full page in the report had been devoted to Brezhnev's trip to Siberia and the Far East. Evidently, "if there had not been such a trip perhaps the Constitution could not be adopted at all." In the conclusion a telegram of congratulations was sent to General Secretary Brezhnev. "What could he be congratuled with in adopting the Constitution? Evidently with Article 6 and articles similar to it", says Vitols.

The wording of Articles 6, 7 and 49 should not be approached with excessive respect or even reverence, but the situation of that time should be objectively assessed, he says.

The changes would not insult nor hurt anybody. This decision to be adopted would be in line with the 19th party conference and the action program of the Communist Party of Latvia.

If anybody, however, intended to vote against the corrections, then he should understand that indirectly he would be voting against the "All Power to the Soviets" movement. Vitols concludes with remarks about wording.

At 1139 GMT a written proposal by deputy (?Gutsarev) for discontinuation of the debate is put to a vote and is adopted with one vote against.

At 1141 GMT Deputy Terekhov, member of the Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee reads and explains in Russian his proposal for the Constitution amendments to come into force only after the adoption of a new law on parties and public organizations.

At 1144 GMT Deputy Drizulis is called to read his hand-written note contradicting Deputy Zile on the Mensheviks of Latvia leaving the party—according to a collection published by Zile's institute they had been expelled.

At 1145 GMT there is a discussion on the procedure of either an open or a secret ballot, then on taking a vote for a secret/by name ballot. There was no need to vote for an open ballot, because that came under the regulations. With only 22 votes for this proposal on secret/by name ballot, it is rejected.

At 1156 GMT, Gorbunov deals at length with the most essential, the proposal by Terekhov. Two deputies discuss the issue with Gorbunov. Before adjourning for lunch at 1205 GMT, Gorbunov agrees that the law should be adopted before deciding its coming into force, and reminds everybody that they must register again after lunch.

At 1305 GMT the session resumes, Gorbunov says that there is a choice of either voting on the draft as a whole or continuing to discuss the innumerable proposals which have been submitted. He remarks that some colleague deputies, including "respected-by-everybody Professor Bojars," have removed some proposals.

Therefore, Gorbunov suggests, "let us vote on the whole, and separately on the declaration." The declaration had to be examined once more concerning the historical facts. Gorbunovs asks who is for the adoption in the second reading of the draft law offered by the commission which has been distributed and with which they

have acquainted themselves. At 1308 GMT Gorbunov annouces that there are 225 votes for and that the law has been adopted. There are nine votes against and 20 abstentions. Gorbunovs repeats that the law has been adopted, as the required two-thirds would have been 213 votes.

At 1310 GMT Gorbunov continues about the declaration. Several speakers argue the point of whether the Communist Party of Latvia was incorporated or admitted to the VKP(b). Gorbunov interjects that very likely there must be a difference, "when joining, then, evidently, there is an application and a decision by collective organs and there is also a Politburo decision."

Deputies Millers and Zile tell that at their archive at the Communist Party of Latvia History Institute there is no application for the Communist Party of Latvia to be admitted to the VKP(b). But, without doubt, there had been a VKP(b) decision which had also been reflected in the 5-6 volume history from which they had quoted in their time.

At about 1320 GMT Gorbunov sums up the existing versions on the Communist Party of Latvia inclusion in the VKP(b). The first one, offered by the commission, refers to its incorporation; the second one, by Deputy Gennadiy Loskutov, member of the Bureau of the Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee says, that it was admitted; and the third one—not the commission's, but by Millers in his own name that it "began to operate within the composition of these titles after this Politburo decision." Gorbunov comments that lawyers and historians could not decide disputes—the deputies had to decide them by voting.

Deputy Stroganov, member of the Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee, talks at length in Russian about historical aspects, that history could not be made by voting, that it had to be restored.

Deputy Bisers agrees with Stroganov "that the time has come to tell the complete truth about the history." Although all the documents could not be found, even when the documents had been destroyed it was possible to tell the truth as was done after the last USSR Congress of People's Deputies about the secret documents of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact. "Concerning the incorporation of the Communist Party of Latvia into the VKP(b) composition, then also here we are absolutely clear. We are absolutely clear that a party can be incorporated, its rules can be changed only by the decision of this party's congress," says Bisers.

"I do not exclude such a fact that in 1940 there could have been some document on the Politburo's table signed by some leader of the Party. We shall probably find out in time. But this is not, by any means, a juridical foundation for (?including) the party into the composition of the VKP(b). So that in this respect, it appears to me, we are absolutely clear that there is a VKP(b) decision by which our party is included into the composition of the VKP(b) without asking for a decision of the corresponding competent organ of the party," he says. "Admission" is out of the question, because this should be substantiated by an act of the party which had not been committed.

At 1326 GMT Deputy Vagris, first secretary of the Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee speaks. He thinks that "incorporated" has now appeared twice, in 1940 into the VKP(b) and in 1952 into the CPSU, and that was probably why the compromise version of Comrade Millers that "it operated" could be used. Deputy Samsons says that he would support the formulation of Professor Millers, making two paragraphs into one: "In the Republic of Latvia [year indistinct] the Communist Party of Latvia operated as an independent, illegal political party, that is correct, but since October 1940,—within the composition of the VKP(b), from 1952 within the composition of the CPSU."

At 1330 GMT Gorbunov sums up.

In his summing up on the incorporation of the Communist Party of Latvia into the VKP(b) and CPSU Gorbunov talks about available historical facts and that the formulation "began to operate within the composition of the VKP(b) according to the decision of the bureau of the VKP(b), or the decision of the Politburo" would be closer to them. Someone asks whether the parliament was the place for discussing the party's history, but Gorbunov announces the result of the vote on the first version, the version submitted by the editorial commission that in 1940 by a decision of the VKP(b) Central Committee the party was incorporated into the VKP(b) composition: 155 votes for, which was enough to adopt it. The "began to operate in the VKP(b) composition" version received 95 votes for.

The declaration as a whole is adopted by a vote.

At 1344 GMT Deputy Terekhov's proposal on the coming into force of this law—when there would be a law on parties and public organizations—is discussed. USSR People's Deputy Lucans had not been allowed to speak previously, therefore he is invited to take floor, and he expresses his astonishment at the procrastination in connection with Article 6. As an agriculturist he wanted only to remind "that it was the party, I mean the Communist Party, which destroyed the agriculture of Latvia in 40 years. From a front-ranking agricultural country of Europe, Latvia was made into what it is, regarding agriculture, now. I shall not enumerate here all those destructive decisions which have been adopted and have been successfully implemented during the decades. At this moment, let us say, by procrastinating with the exclusion of this article from the Constitution we are risking—taking into account the great activity of the meeting of the city of Riga Party Aktiv with regard to changing the leadership of the Central Committee—we are risking with some other rapid development decision on agriculture or even some other branch in the nearest

future," therefore he saw a great danger in the delay and appealed to the deputies not to agree with any arguments or objections.

At 1348 GMT a vote is taken on Terekhov's proposal—there is no need otherwise to vote on the law, because, as all other laws, it would come into force 10 days after publication—which receives only 41 votes and it is not adopted.

Talking about the new law on Constitution amendments Gorbunov stresses its importance: "In my mind this law is the most important one we have adopted, because a new period of democratization or of development of democracy has begun in our republic." How this process would develop would depend on everybody in the republic. "If we want this process, which we have begun today, to develop, we must begin by tolerance towards a differing standpoint." He also comments on the "Soviets without Communists" slogan mentioned by Bojars appealing for vigilance; and at some length on equal rights of public organizations. Everyone should fully recognize that those who decide will also be responsible, whereas formerly everyone was deciding but almost nobody was responsible. "Now we must understand very well, if we decide together, then we also are responsible together." With public or state organs adopting decisions they are also responsible for the fulfillment of those decisions. Independent of the opinions of those present, the people come first, then the organs of the state of the people, and only after the parties or public organizations follow. "If we all shall be guided by this principle then the decision adopted today will be successful, if not, it seems to me, it will be rather difficult to implement what we have declared today."

At 1400 GMT a support proposal to Lithuanians is read and adopted and after that the next item, on horticultural societies in Riga and Limbazi Rayons, is dealt with, the day's sitting ends at 1708 GMT.

Latvian Officials on Independence, Western Ties

AU1901154190 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 18 Jan 90 p 3

[Bernt Conrad report on Professor Mavriks Vulfsons, Latvian deputy, and Janis Junkans, foreign policy expert of the Latvian Popular Front, visit to DIE WELT editorial office: "We Must Be More Progesssive Than Gorbachev"—date, place not given]

[Excerpts] "You people in the West are mainly concerned about the fate of Gorbachev. Even in Germany people only talk about him," Mavriks Vulfsons said with a slightly ironical smile on his face. [passage omitted]

Vulfsons and Janis Junkans, foreign policy expert of the Latvian Popular Front, who were invited to the editorial office of DIE WELT, pointed out that the people in Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania are not in the least inclined to curb their ardent desire for independence. In the spring they will have free elections for the first time and, according to Vulfsons, the result is already clear: "The three states will get democratic parliaments and governments, who set themselves the objective of putting an end to the current status of Soviet republics. I believe that this is what will happen."

The Baltic officials have left no doubt that, if necessary another course of action is also conceivable: Latvians, Lithuanians, and Estonians might declare the Ribbentrop-Molotov Agreement on the annexation of the Baltics by the USSR as null and void, and request international help in this context, appeal to the court in The Hague, or propose an international conference. One thing is absolutely clear for Vulfsons: "We are part of the East European process of change. If the Baltic problems are not solved there can be no peace." [passage omitted]

The Latvian historian and deputy does not see any acceptable alternative to Gorbachev. On the other hand, he knows how delicate the nationality question is for Gorbachev. [passage omitted]

Gorbachev is trying to play for time. He canvasses for his policy and issues warnings, shows a more flexible attitude but then returns to intervening—not least in consideration of his Russian clients. "We are aware of the fact that Gorbachev triggered the developments with perestroyka, and he knows that we are his allies, even though we keep making things difficult for him. Therefore, we must be more progressive than he is." [passage omitted]

"The Latvians, Lithuanians, and Estonians can counteract Russian pressure only with Western support." This is why we are greatly interested in Western investments, joint ventures and knowhow, particularly from the FRG. "Yet the Germans tell us: 'We have a cooperation agreement with the USSR,'" Junkans stated. "There are actually joint ventures in the Baltic states, but their profits go to Moscow."

In this situation Vulfsons envisages only one prospect: "When we have democratic governments after the elections, the relations between other countries and ourselves must change. It must be guaranteed that investments that are intended for us remain in Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia. For this we need the protection of Western observers. It would be useful to have an agency for German companies in Riga that could assess the situation on site. A German cultural center would also be most desirable," Vulfsons concluded.

This is a challenge for Bonn.

Commission To Investigate Former Latvian Premier

LD2201213490 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 1830 GMT 16 Jan 90

[Text] At its session on 16 January, the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium decided to establish a special commission to investigate the action of the government and the army [of the

Republic of Latvia] in the years 1939-1940 and the fate of [the last president of the republic of Latvia] Karlis Ulmanis.

This matter is considered important.

Paper Shortage, Factory Shutdown in Latvia

LD2301131290 Moscow TASS in English 1156 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Riga January 23 TASS—By TASS correspondent Galina Kuchina:

The Latvian people have not received newspapers today. Telephones are ringing at all editorial offices. People are told: "Newspapers will be published once a week. Printshops are short of paper and there will be a greater shortage due to the closure of the Sloksky pulp and paper factory".

There is nothing surprising about this situation. The Latvian government told the January session of the republican Supreme Soviet what might happen if the Sloksky factory, situated in the Jurmala resort zone, was stopped.

After listening to economists, ecologists and experts, deputies concluded that the factory was incompatible with the resort. They backed the decision made earlier by the Jurmala City Soviet (council): To close down the factory on January 1.

The factory annually produced 90,000 tonnes of paper. It was the country's only producer of punch-card paper for computers, paper for ice-cream cups, cover paper for magazines and books and wrapping paper.

The USSR Council of Ministers warned deputies that if the factory was closed, the Soviet cabinet did not see how to resolve the problem of providing the economy with these types of paper this year.

The government warned that this would entail the stoppage of several enterprises throughout the country with an annual loss of over one billion roubles and limitation of paper consumption in Latvia by 35-40 per cent.

The deputies were also addressed by Latvian Prime Minister Vilnis Bresis and ministers. They said that this action would paralyse computing centres. Another 1,400 accountants would be needed in the republic to process information.

There would be no paper to pack sugar, salt, pasta and other goods. About 6,000 print workers would be laid off. The production of nutrient yeast for agriculture would grind to a standstill.

Ministers called on the deputies to hammer out a compromise, taking into account the interests of ecology and the economy. But the overwhelming majority of deputies voted for the previous decision: the closure of the enterprise was a priority item on the platform of many deputies.

Local Newspapers Cut

PM2301163990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Own correspondent I. Litvinova: "Papers Will Not Be Published"]

[Text] Riga—No republic newspapers, morning or evening, will be published in Latvia 23 January.

There was dismay in the editorial offices of Press House. While the latest editions were already being prepared, journalists learned that typesetters and other printing workers had been sent home. What was the reason?

"The quantity of newsprint at our disposal is sufficient only for a day or two," Kazimir Dundurs, director of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Publishing House, told me.

"Therefore, in order not to deprive readers of news altogether, we have decided that the newspapers CINA, SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA, and LAUKU AVIZE (rural newspaper) will be published once a week. In this case the stocks of paper will last for a year."

The complex situation as regards paper, I was told, is the result of the decision by local authorities to halt the production of cellulose at the Sloka cellulose and paper plant located in the Yurmala resort zone.

Subscribers of central newspapers which are published in the republic will receive them as usual.

Sajudis Condemns Army's Role in Transcaucasus

LD2201111990 Vilnius in Lithuanian to North America 0100 GMT 21 Jan 90

[Text] The Sajudis Sejmas has adopted at its session yet another important document: a statement on military aggression in Transcaucasia. It concerns events in the Azerbaijan capital, Baku where once again blood is being shed and the regular army is being used. The Sejmas resolutely condemned the decisions of the Soviet government and the actions of the Soviet army in Transcaucasia. The Sejmas is also concerned, the statement goes on, that people of the occupied Lithuanian republic are involved in this conflict—soldiers serving in the Soviet Army and also conscripts. The Sejmas demands that the Lithuanian government take urgent measures to recall Lithuania's young people from units which at present are taking part in military aggression against the peoples of Transcaucasia.

Sajudis' Cepaitis: 'Independence in 3-5 Years'

PM1901151690 Madrid YA in Spanish 14 Jan 90 p 12

[Interview with Sajudis Secretary General Virgilijus Cepaitis by Monica Fokkelman; date, place not given]

[Text] Vienna—Virgilijus Cepaitis, secretary general of the Lithuanian People's Front, Sajudis, was a member of

the Lithuanian delegation that attended the first "European roundtable" held in Vienna, which brought together political forces of both East and West for the first time.

Virgilijus Cepaitis, 52, took the opportunity of his presence at this international forum to present for the first time in person the ideas and objectives of his movement, Sajudis, which has become a proper organization.

[Fokkelman] Mr Cepaitis, following Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Lithuania, what plans have the Lithuanian people set themselves for the near future, and what are the aims of your organization, Sajudis?

[Cepaitis] Sajudis represents the wishes of the majority of the Lithuanian people. Our aim is to achieve an independent Lithuania. Only thus can we guarantee our citizens—irrespective of their nationality—human rights observance and a normal and secure life.

Nor can we await the creation in the USSR of the so-called "renewed federation" that Gorbachev is now promising us. In any case, I must say that the way in which he self-determination issue is being presented is totally false. We do not have to ask Moscow to grant us the freedom to separate from the USSR. We were occupied illegally.

[Fokkelman] What are Lithuania's Communists doing to deal with this situation?

[Cepaitis] Lithuania's independence is supported by the Communist Party of Lithuania, too. The Communist apparatus also seems to agree with this, or at least they act as though they do. But I believe this is not a sincere attitude, since they are fully aware that they would no longer have much to do in an independent Lithuania.

[Fokkelman] The Lithuanian Communists' leader has said that Gorbachev must be helped, otherwise a dangerous situation could occur.

[Cepaitis] Our Communists are always trying to frighten the population. They are always talking about the possibility of Soviet tanks' coming here or, in the event of independence, of Poland's trying to occupy Vilnius. But that is its way of frightening us. We will not allow ourselves to be deceived, however.

[Fokkelman] What future do you see for the USSR?

[Cepaitis] The USSR will disappear as an empire in its present configuration. This process has only just begun. Nationalist movements are expanding in all the Soviet republics.

[Fokkelman] Do you envisage the possibility of Lithuania's forming part of a Soviet democratic confederation?

[Cepaitis] We three Baltic republics—Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia—will some day not be part of the Soviet Union. To the usual question whether we will separate from the USSR I must say this: We cannot separate from the USSR because we never joined it. We were the victims of a military aggression.

[Fokkelman] What aims do you promote?

[Cepaitis] Our aim is to succeed in creating a neutral and totally demilitarized Lithuania.

[Fokkelman] How long do you reckon it will be before Lithuania is an independent country?

[Cepaitis] The declaration of independence is a mere formality. Real independence will come when we succeed in making our economy independent. We could achieve this in 3-5 years, I reckon.

Lithuania Independence Commission Heads Chosen

90UN0643B Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 10 Dec 89 p 2

[Lithuanian Supreme Soviet resolution: "On the Collegium of Chairmen of the Commission for Drawing Up Plan To Restore Lithuanian Independence"]

[Text] The Supreme Soviet of the LiSSR [Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic] **resolves** :

1. To confirm the following individuals as comprising a collegium of chairmen to direct the Commission for Drawing Up a Plan to Restore Lithuanian Independence:
A. Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee;
A. Zhukauskas, vice president of the LiSSR Academy of Sciences;
Yu. Martsinkyavichyus, writer;
K. Moteka, lawyer at the Vilnius Legal Advice Office No 1;
R. Ozolas, chief editor of the newspaper ATGIMIMAS.
2. To establish that each member of the collegium of chairmen will exercise leadership of the commission in turn.

V. Astrauskas, Chairman of the Presidium of the LiSSR Supreme Soviet.

L. Sabutis, Secretary of the Presidium of the LiSSR Supreme Soviet. Vilnius, 5 December 1989

Reportage on 20th Lithuanian Party Congress

Aktiv Appeal

90UN0643A Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 10 Dec 89 p 1

[Appeal of a group of delegates of the 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress to all congress delegates and communists of the republic]

[Text] The political situation in the LiSSR [Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic] today is characterized by an acute economic slump, a deepening of social contradictions, increased political tension, and the spreading of a

psychology of uncertainty among the population. It is under these conditions that the extraordinary 20th Congress of the CPLi [Communist Party of Lithuania] is being convened.

The communists of the republic believe it necessary to enhance their responsibility for the destiny of the people of Lithuania, to consolidate and unite all forces in order to fulfill the tasks of restructuring the party and our entire social framework. We, a group of delegates of the 20th CPLi Congress, state our support for the further unification of all communists on the basis of Marxist-Leninist ideology and on the principles of communist party spirit.

We advocate the position that the CPLi should continue to function independently within the composition of the CPSU while undergoing renewal, together and on an equal basis with all party organizations of the Soviet socialist republics, in accordance with the principles of democratic centralism.

Finding support for its future activity in genuinely scientific theory, the CPLi has a real opportunity to fulfill the role of political vanguard for the laboring masses, to fight successfully for the interests of the working class and all the people. In order to implement its program of operations, the CPLi must restructure its entire organizational and ideological effort, must infuse new substance into it and free itself from the functions of state rule which do not belong to it.

We, delegates of the 20th CPLi Congress, state our support for the further consolidation of ideological and organizational unity in the entire CPSU in general. This requires the increased ideological integrity of all communists, the democratization of intra-party life, reinforcement of the collective nature of party leadership, and the consolidation of party discipline. We state our support for CPSU renewal, for full consideration to be given the social and national particularities of the activity of republic party organizations.

We believe the chief aim of the CPLi under conditions of perestroyka to be surmounting deviations and achieving a qualitatively new state of socialism, a state characterized by genuine humanism, consistent democratism, social justice, and a high standard of civilization. In order to achieve this aim of perestroyka, a rebirth of the Leninist concept of socialism is required, a renewal in accordance with its precepts for all spheres of social life.

We appeal to all delegates of the 20th Congress and all communists of Soviet Lithuania to support our proposals, to consolidate unity within party ranks, to completely renew Leninist party spirit in the Communist Party of our republic.

This document was adopted 9 December 1989 at a meeting of the party aktiv of the republic.

Vilnius Rally

90UN0643H Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 27 Dec 89 p 3

[Unattributed article: "Rally in the Square"]

[Text] Vilnius, 26 December (Lithuanian Telegraph Agency)—Thousands of Vilnius citizens gathered at noon today in Cathedral Square for a rally. Participants approved of the decisions of the 20th Congress of the CPLi [Lithuanian Communist Party] and expressed concern over the work of the CPSU Central Committee Plenum taking place in Moscow.

The rally was opened by USSR People's Deputy Eduardas Vilkas, prominent scholar and secretary of the Presidium of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, director of the Economics Institute, and member of the CPLi Central Committee Bureau. Vilkas noted that the CPLi has made its statement not in order to retreat, but in order to better serve the Lithuanian people, to correct errors lying on the conscience of communists.

Appearing at the rally were Lyaonas Vebra, "Sigma" association employee; Vladimir Ivleyev, chief engineer of the Theatrical Union production combine; Vatslovas Makaryavichyus, pedagogical institute lecturer; Zbignev Baltsevich, editor of the newspaper CHERVONY SHTANDAR, member of the CPLi Central Committee Bureau; actress Niyole Ozhelite; Vitautas Knashis, republic minister of agriculture; Algimantas Chekuolis, chief editor of the weekly GIMTASIS KRASHTAS, USSR people's deputy; pensioner Vladas Staponavichyus; Yustas Paletskis, CPLi Central Committee secretary; and other individuals. These people emphasized that the activity of an independent CPLi will unquestionably serve a noble aim—democratization, sovereignty, and independence of the republic, and nothing will be able to oppose this. Rally participants advocated unity in the party ranks, the consolidation of all progressive movements.

Rally participants adopted a resolution stating: "Communists of Lithuania and the working people of the republic support the decisions of the 20th CPLi Congress, its policies, and its acknowledged leader, Algirdas Brazauskas. The independence of Lithuanian communists constitutes assistance to perestroyka; it comprises renewal of the entire party and the further democratization of our society.

On the banner of the 20th CPLi Congress are socialism, democracy,

Servicemen in Lithuania Lose Right To Vote

PM2301153590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Jan 90 First Edition p 1

["Our correspondent" report: "Lithuania: Making Do Without Referendum"]

[Text] All the decisions previously taken by the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet made provision for servicemen performing their duty on the republic's territory to take part in the upcoming elections. In short, their right to vote was on a par with all other citizens. The leaders of Lithuania have repeatedly reminded us of this. However, on a wave of active propaganda directed against the Soviet Army, which is here referred to as nothing other than an army of "occupation," a campaign was inspired to collect signatures among voters unhappy with the law. Talk even began of holding a national referendum to decide whether soldiers should be given the right to vote or be denied it.

The latest piece of news is that the republic Supreme Soviet deputies had no need of a referendum. It has been resolved at a session to deny the right to vote to the overwhelming majority of servicemen. Or, to be precise, those who do not possess a permanent residence permit in a Lithuanian population center. Soldiers, sailors, sergeants, and petty officers naturally do not have it. Nor is such a permit possessed by officers living in service accommodation. Or, moreover, by the members of their families. It turns out that yet another deprivation—the political rights guaranteed them by the country's Fundamental Law—befalls the lot of those carrying out the sacred duty of defending the motherland.

Such, it transpires, are the kind of decisions blithely taken by those who are ready at every step to proclaim rhetorical slogans about global human rights devoid of any real content.

Lithuanian Banker Voices Complaints

LD2201125990 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1000 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Press Review presented by Algis Usas]

[Excerpts] [Usas] Here is another topic in today's press. Since new year information has been reaching us, and we hear from our acquaintances, that our republic's residents who go abroad to socialist and West European countries cannot change currency with convertible checks. Recently my colleague returned from Poland with his checks. Some people returning with our rubles tell us that they have seen messages from Moscow stating that currency should not be changed for citizens from the Baltic republics. I phoned Danute Kuciene, Republican Bank president for relations with foreign banks, and asked for an explanation.

[Begin recording] [Kuciene] There is a message limiting our rights since the new year. We used to sign traveller's checks, for instance, to Poland. [passage omitted] They have annulled our signatures. They have virtually annulled our rights, because in signing traveller's checks we had at our disposal Moscow's accounts with foreign banks. [passage omitted]

[Usas] What could we do?

[Kuciene] We will not be able to travel. We have very little currency, very little currency of the socialist countries. [passage omitted] Our signatures are invalid in all socialist countries, and we have no currency. [passage omitted] Our signatures are not valid in Yugoslavia, either. Apart from that, a message has come from Moscow stating that the clearing dollar is worth less than 5 new dinars, but people should pay 12 dinars. Just imagine, they pay only 40 percent. People who have changed clearing dollars, are returning and bringing them back to the bank. [passage omitted].

[Usas] I would say that politics as well as economic matters are involved here.

[Kuciene] You could say that. They say, you are free, but when we phoned Moscow about Yugoslavia and wanted an explanation, they said, you are free and manage your own affairs. A certain cold attitude from Moscow is felt. [passage omitted].

[Usas] We are talking about an economic blockade, but this is a financial blockade.

[Kuciene] We have to understand it like this. For example, our requests for the first quarter have been blocked. [passage omitted] We have no currency, nobody will sell anything for the rubles. If Moscow does not give us anything, we will hardly be able to go anywhere. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Ethnic Russians 'Roughed Up' in Moldavia

AU2301134490 Paris AFP in English 1340 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, Jan 23 (AFP)—Nationalist militants in Moldavia have roughed up ethnic Russians in a demonstration in Kishinev, capital of the southwestern Soviet republic, among calls for the pullout of Soviet troops, press reports said here Tuesday.

One thousand members of the local nationalist Popular Front movement marched on the regional communist party's central committee headquarters Sunday demanding "the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the Kishinev garrison," INTERPRESS, a Moscow radio publication, reported.

Demonstrators manhandled the deputy chief editor of a local Russian-language newspaper as well as photographers and police, INTERPRESS added.

Calls were also made for the reunification of Soviet Moldavia with the neighbouring Romanian region.

The Soviet Union annexed the eastern part of Moldavia, then called Bessarabia, in 1940 in accordance with the Stalin-Hitler pact which carved up Eastern Europe.

Moldavia Appoints New Supreme Soviet Chairman

LD2201155190 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 11 Jan 90 P1

[Excerpts] There was a meeting of the presidium of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic [MSSR] Supreme Soviet on 10 January. It was chaired by M.I. Snegur, presidium chairman.

The presidium adopted a decree releasing I.P. Kalin from his post as chairman of the MSSR Council of Ministers in connection with his transfer to work as a USSR Foreign Ministry diplomat. [passage omitted]

P.K. Luchinskiy, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Moldavian Communist Party, proposed P.A. Paskar for the post of chairman of the MSSR Council of Ministers. [passage omitted]

A decree of the presidium of the MSSR Supreme Soviet approved P.A. Paskar in the post of chairman of the MSSR Council of Ministers. [passage omitted]

Moldavian Weekly Publishes First Issue 5 Jan

LD2201111290 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 6 Jan 90 p 1

[Summary] A new weekly magazine called in Russian FAKEL, and in Moldavian FACLIA [TORCH] came out on 5 January. It is an organ of the Moldavian Ministries of Culture and of Education. It is the successor of the paper NARODNYE OBRAZOVANIYE and is published in both Moldavian and Russian.

Lisovenko Elected Chernigov Obkom Secretary

PM2301110790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jan 90 Second Edition p 2

[RATAU-TASS report: "Plenum Held"]

[Text] A Chernigov Oblast Ukrainian Communist Party Committee plenum has been held to examine an organizational question.

As a result of a secret ballot, from four candidates the plenum elected V.T. Lisovenko, who worked as a responsible organizer in the CPSU Central Committee Party Building and Cadres Work Department and before that as secretary of the oblast committee, as first secretary of the Chernigov Oblast Ukrainian Communist Party Committee.

Kiev Party Secretaries Elected 19 Jan

LD2301112390 Kiev in Ukrainian to Europe 1800 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Excerpts] An organizational question was dealt with at the Kiev party gorkom plenum today. The participants had to elect the second secretary and secretary of this party organ. Several candidates for both posts were nominated. Some speakers claimed that none of the proposed candidates were capable of improving things in the city's party organization.

(Volodymyr Kolokolov), party secretary of Kiev University, said in an interview during an interval:

[Begin (Kolokolov) recording] This evaluation derives from the fact that the nomination of candidates proceeded along the old lines. The party's cadre policy should be conducted in a more open way with greater glasnost. Candidates for a higher post should be nominated at meetings of primary party organizations. Whereas here, all candidates were nominated at the top and delivered from top to bottom. Our rules envisage that all movement should proceed from below to the top. [end recording] [passage omitted]

In the end, Georgiy Nechitovskiy was elected second secretary by secret ballot. Until then, he worked as first secretary of the Shevchenkovskiy party raykom in Kiev. Sergey Globenko, formerly first secretary of the Zaliznychnyy party raykom in Kiev, was elected secretary of the Kiev party gorkom.

Ivashko Grants Televised Interview 16 Jan

LD1701174590 Kiev in English to North America 0030 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] Yesterday the Politburo member, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, Vladimir Ivashko, gave a televised interview in Kiev, and here are the highlights concerning the ways for our country's economic development.

[Begin Ivashko recording in Ukrainian, fading into superimposed English translation] As you know, the government program was approved by the Second Congress of People's Deputies of the Soviet Union so as to overcome economic difficulties in this country, says Vladimir Ivashko. Its realization was started in this year and it began working as of January the first. It contains a lot of new approaches and, consequently, some new problems. Although certain people don't see them yet, others do, and it requires to give up certain stereotypes in their minds.

Further on, Vladimir Ivashko noted the large-scale participation of the Ukrainian people in the current preelection campaign, and a certain impact on their mood and attitudes by the events taking place in the Ukraine and around it—in the Caucasus, the Baltic republics, and Eastern Europe. These processes evoke certain reaction in the people here and their anxiety; in other words, instances of hampered developments on the lines of restructuring make people worry. It's quite natural because not everyone can seive through his mind all the information coming, the more so that many of us are accustomed to think that the official point of view is the (?only) single and correct one. Now every person must see it for himself, whether this viewpoint is right or not. Therefore, Vladimir Ivashko underlined, it's needed for

everyone in the Ukraine, with a population of 52 million, to spare no effort so as to ensure progress in the economy, culture, and all other spheres of life. He also noted that for this purpose three components are needed—that is, common sense, culture, and responsibility.

Speaking about socialism, so far humanity has not created a better ideal than the one wich was formulated before Marx, and then by Marx, Lenin, and other people, continued Vladimir Ivashko. The matter is when and how socialism was being built and when this word was used to screen a dictatorship—that's another system known as Stalinism. I have nothing in common with that dictatorship and bear no responsibility for it, be it Stalin's dictatorship, that of Ceausescu, or somebody else's. And to this I'd like to add, continued Vladimir Ivashko, let us build the true socialism, the one which became possible in 1985, that is, at the time of restructuring, when a person has no restrictions, so that he can realize in full measure his talents and ability for making life better for everyone. [end recording]

Ivashko Attends Kiev Engineering Seminar

LD2301155190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] The secretaries of the party organizations of the engineering and technical higher education establishments of the Ukraine have met at an all-union seminar conference in Kiev. The party leaders of almost all 350 higher educational establishments of this kind are attending. An exchange of views is underway on the activities of the higher educational establishments' party organisations in the period of preparations for the 28th CPSU congress. Comrade Ivashko, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Ukraine Communist Party, spoke at the seminar conference.

Shishlin, Korotich, Yakovlenko Cited on Ligachev

PM1901100690 London ITV Television Network in English 1900 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Interviews with CPSU Central Committee member Nikolay Shishlin, OGONEK editor Vitaliy Korotich (in English), and SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA deputy editor Aleksandr Yakovlenko (in Russian with subtitles in English) by correspondent David Smith in Moscow from Channel 4 "News" report on Kremlin power struggle and CPSU Central Committee Politburo member Yegor Ligachev's role in sending Army into Georgia in CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev's absence—no date given; recorded]

[Text] [Shishlin] I'm afraid that this situation made some harm to the image of Mr Ligachev, but I can't say that he's the only person who is responsible for that terrible thing which happened in Tbilisi.

[Smith] Is he going to survive?

[Shishlin] I think yes, I think yes. He has some chances to survive.

[Smith] Why? Because Mr Gorbachev wants him inside rather than outside, where he's more dangerous?

[Shishlin] No. I can express only my personal opinion: because Mr Ligachev is a well-known figure in the party, and certain circles in the party support him.

[Smith] If Mr Ligachev survives it will be because he's still useful to the Kremlin—even to President Gorbachev. A Siberian, an engineer by training, Yegor Ligachev made his name as the honest, puritanical boss in the city of Tomsk. It was Gorbachev's mentor, Yuriy Andropov, who brought him to Moscow and the Central Committee in 1983, and it was Gorbachev who promoted him to the Politburo in April 1985, just a few weeks after coming to power. Despite their disagreements, Gorbachev has kept him, even though he lost the post of chief ideologist and was given agriculture in 1988. Those who know them say that this relationship is not what it seems and that as Gorbachev continues to clean out the Communist Party he still has a job for the man stereotyped as his enemy.

[Korotich] Tactically, Ligachev is really needed because the conservative mass of party leaders—especially local leaders—believe in him. Once Gorbachev got close to punishment—it was close to punishment—told me that: I'm working with Ligachev close. I need him and never treated all those differences and everything as something so important that we must be enemies [words indistinct]. Ligachev once told me the same.

[Smith] Still, Ligachev's supporters fear that he may have defied the president once too often: They don't believe he should go because of Georgia, but by October and the special Party Congress, he will.

[Yakovlenko] No, I don't think he should be removed. Why? We're approaching the 29th Party Congress and that will be the time for changes in the Politburo.

'Mass Protest Action' in Tbilisi Ends

PM2201152790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by unnamed correspondent: "Protest Action in Tbilisi Ends"]

[Text] Since 5 January, there has been a mass protest action in Tbilisi, outside Government House, in the place that is familiar to everyone as a result of the 9 April tragedy. The action was initiated by members of certain informal public and political organizations. The most broadly based public organizations in the republic—the Georgian People's Front and the All-Georgian Rustaveli Society—did not participate. The chief demands were for Georgia's state independence to be restored and for members of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo to come to the republic for a dialogue on all matters of public concern.

It has to be said that some leaders of the most radical informal organizations called for a national strike. As a result, there was no surface public transport in the city for 3 days, but, generally speaking, calls for this method of solving the problems did not have mass support.

Givi Gumbaridze, first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium, spoke on Georgian television and also addressed the protesters directly. He urged people to keep calm and be sensible and to implement political and economic reforms in the republic in a businesslike atmosphere.

The action ended on Saturday evening, our correspondent was told on the telephone. A rally was held in this connection outside Government House. The initiators of the protest action said they had to take into account the critical situation in neighboring republics and this has made every sober-minded person reflect on the fate of his own people.

One would add that the situation has stabilized also in Tskhinvali, center of the South Osetian Autonomous Oblast. There are uninterrupted food supplies to the oblast and not a single ethnic clash has been recorded.

Vlasov on 1989 RSFSR Economic Results

LD2301215590 Moscow TASS in English 2140 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 23 TASS—By TASS correspondent Andrey Orlov:

The Russian economy showed no radical improvement in 1989, mainly due to dragging feet in the introduction of the new economic mechanism. This was stated by Russian's Prime Minister Aleksandr Vlasov at a session of the government of this, the largest of the 15 Soviet republics.

The way out is to be sought not in the tightening of central control but in the creation of economic incentives to stimulate economic growth.

Vlasov noted that despite positive results, the economic development rate began to fall in the middle of last year, with industrial production in an overall slump in December 1989.

Russia's national income increased by 2.3 per cent in 1989 (as against the targeted 4.8 per cent) with inflation reducing this modest achievement to zero. The introduction of economic methods capable of speeding up economic development, including lease-holding, was restrained by both the lack of respective regulatory enactments and the inefficiency of many industrial executives who were unable to operate under market conditions.

As a result, only 920 enterprises went over to lease relations, a mere 4.5 per cent of Russia's total number. And this in spite of the fact that the enterprises operating on the lease basis proved quite effective—their output went up by 7.1 per cent, as against 1.4 per cent in the industry as a whole.

Speakers at the session pointed out that the results of economic development were affected by mass strikes, ethnic unrest in neighbouring republics and low labour discipline.

The consumer market and financial situation in the republic remained extremely tense. Unmet demand went up by 12.5 billion roubles in 1989, due mainly to the inefficiency of the agroindustrial complex as a whole and its processing facilities above all. Transport facilities worked by fits and starts, major shortfalls were reported in capital construction, with half of the facilities commissioned by the state left uncompleted. Less housing was built in 1989 than in 1988.

The government session decided it was necessary to continue the social re-orientation, restructuring and financial normalisation of the republican economy.

Meskhetian Turks Demonstrate at TV Center

LD2301145790

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1300 GMT on 23 January carries a 2-minute report on a demonstration by Meskhetian Turks at Moscow's Ostankino television center.

The announcer begins the report by noting, "The events in the country are spilling over into the streets of Moscow. Moscow has already become accustomed to rallies. They are held on Pushkin Square and Luzhniki, and increasingly often demonstrators have started coming to Ostankino, to the building of our television center." The video shows footage of the 21 January demonstration at Ostankino by the Popular Front of Azerbaijan. The announcer continues, "There was yet another demonstration mounted early this morning at the entrance to the television center—this time by Meskhetian Turks. I think it would be pointless to summarize their demands since you can see them yourselves on your screens. We do understand the desire of people to use the mass media to solve their problems, but it should not be forgotten that television is neither a legislative nor an executive organ, but an organ of information. The best we can do is show you the rally. I should remind you that this video was taken an hour ago outside the Ostankino television center in Moscow."

The video next shows a line of Meskhetian Turks, each carrying a placard. The placards read: "Deputies: You were elected by the People; Twice in 45 years the Soviet Turks have been driven out; Return their confiscated homeland to the Meskhetian Turks; Who will answer for the outraged honor of our girls and women; Muscovites; Pride of the country! Help the Soviet Turks return to their homeland in Meskhetia; Enough deceit: Return our homeland!; The disappearnce of an ethnic group is a disgrace to socialism; The Fergana tragedy served to

scatter the Turkic people to all corners of Russia; Soviet Turks are tired of waiting for empty promises; Who will answer for the genocide of the Soviet Turks?; M.S. Gorbachev; Where should we live today?' It is time the party moved from words to deeds!; Shame on the politically blind conservatives who are delaying the return of the Turks; We Turks from Meskhetia believe the Georgian people will not leave us in trouble; Who will answer for the Fergana tragedy?; Each people has its little homeland!; Our homeland is Meskhetia-Dzhavakhetiya—Give it back!; For 45 years the Turks from Meskhetia have been homeless; Soviet Turks are for perestroyka, democratization and friendship between peoples.

Boris Pugo Discusses Party Issues

LD2301233390 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1600 GMT 23 Jan 90

["Youth Bulletin" program, subtitled "Special Edition of View Program" and "Dialogue Without an Interpreter;" video collage (with interjections by announcer) of meeting between Boris Pugo, CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member, chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee, and students of Kalinin University; and an interview with Pugo by an unidentified "View Program" correspondent; date not specified—recorded]

[Text] [Pugo] Why did I decide to have a meeting with the student body of Kalinin and not somewhere nearer to my home in Moscow? [video shows Pugo at rostrum addressing an audience assembled in a hall] On this point I shall tell you frankly that one of the reasons for this is that I wanted to go to a VUZ [Higher Educational Establishment] which, I believe, has a very average and even, perhaps, on some issues a below average base. So, I wanted to see this and, in general, I would like to say that I am a congress deputy, from the party list, it is true, but when I was being elected, I came to Kalinin. [program then presents a collage of questions shown being put by members of the audience]

[Question] Your visit here, is it purely ceremonial or are you here as a man on the spot who is inclined to raise acute questions and resolve them in the given area?

[Question] In other countries there are members of Congress, members of the Cortes, members of parliament, and simply deputies. However, we have Peoples Deputies. In what way are they more peoples than in other countries?

[Question] Where is a student, an ordinary, normal student to get the funds to go to the United States?

[Question] At this period of time, from the moral point of view how can one raise the pay of party, trade union and local authorities?

[Question] Was Kalinin a criminal or a worthy member of the Communist Party, alongside Comrades Stalin and Kagonovich who were members of the same organization as you and Nikolay Fedorovich [Tatarchuk, first secretary of Kalinin obkom].

[Announcer speaking over collage of shots of a heated debate at the meeting] Replies to these and other questions were given by Boris Pugo, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, chairman of the Party Control Committee, during his meeting with the students and teachers of Kalinin state university.

Also taking part in the meeting were Nikolay Tatarchuk, first secretary of the Kalinin oblast party committee:

[Student speaking from hall] As is known, in the country all the enterprises are now going over to financial autonomy and self-financing and so on and, I do not know what is happening in the rest of the country, but to my knowledge in the city of Kalinin enterprises are not taking on young specialists. Many students of our faculty, to the best of my knowledge, will this year receive free diplomas. [on graduating they will not follow the previous practice of being directed to a specific place of work for a set period]

My second question: To the best of my knowledge—there was a notice to this effect in the faculty—those who wish to go to study in the United States in the summer will need R2,000. If I have a grant of R40 then, just work it out, it will take 50 months of not eating or drinking in order to go to the United States. Where is student, an ordinary, normal student to get the funds to go to the Unites States?

[Pugo] We are different, of course we are different. But I think that we are different in that this question really does exist and I understand it very well. In general, I understand that it is necessary to seek some sort of way out from this position. That is, you have raised an extremely serious problem. It has arisen literally all over the country and reports are coming in from all over. Enterprises are going over to self-financing and self-recouping, starting to count their money and really are most unwilling to transfer funds to VUZs to train students. I do not know, perhaps I will not win any popularity among you by my reply but the time will probably come when, in our country, we shall train each student to order, as they say. That is train them well, spend a large amount of funds on them, and reduce the number of students in VUZs. This approach is probably quite inevitable. Probably, it really should be that an enterprise should have an interest in receiving a specialist. That is obligatory. One issue is being worked on, say, as far as concerns technical VUZs, it is a bit simpler for them; all the same industry is interested in technical specialists. But it is the budget organizations which are interested in the universities, in school teachers and these organizations, in general, do not even have any money. Therefore, this question is now being discussed: That, perhaps, all the same, it should be necessary that the organs of soviet power, at the expense of their

budgets—and there will soon be local budgets, previously there weren't any but soon there will be, and in time they will be quite large ones—so that it, perhaps, should pay the appropriate VUZs, the student grants, well, not just the student grants, but on the whole, the cost of student's study in a Higher Educational Establishment. This problem is also under discussion.

[Pugo reads out question and then replies to it] Why have the seals of secrecy not been removed from rehabilitation cases? They have been.

[Elderly man shouts indistinctly from the body of the hall]

[Pugo] What was that?

[Unidentified speaker] When you came to town you assembled virtually the whole Kalinin militia. What are you doing, travelling around the town accompanied by a cortege like an admiral....

[Pugo] You know, I fully share you indignation [applause] and I request that this should not happen.

Here is an interesting question. Do you have a personal bodyguard? Yes, I do.

Is it proposed to change the instructions on the elections of leading party bodies. Will there be direct elections, with secret voting and more than one candidate, of secretaries of party committees including the general secretary? As far as the CPSU Central Committee's instructions are concerned, the CPSU Central Committee has the right to change these instructions. But there are questions which come within the competence of the congress. That is, they come within, they are written into the party rules. As far as questions which should be decided are concerned...which only the congress has the power to decide, it would surely be very incorrect, and in all probability we would not be understood by ordinary communists if all of a sudden the Central Committee decided to violate the party Rules. The party Rules cannot be violated. But at the same time, I think that there are very many questions which really do require a change of approach.

When will the CPSU Central Committee's interference in the organs of the mass media not subordinate to it cease? On the matter of interference in the activity of newspapers, I would simply like to say that at the level of the CPSU Central Committee this assertion is not true. But at the same time, from my work in the party Control Committee I know that it would be quite wrong to present too rosy a picture. We are frequently made aware and we can see that it still happens that party bodies work with the mass media in the old way and at times try to dictate their will. These are incorrect positions.

[At this point the scene switches from one of Pugo answering questons from the platform of the meeting with students, to one in which he is being interviewed by a female correspondent on the "View" program]

[Correspondent] The country's leaders, and in particular the Politburo members, are meeting students. Is this the start of a new tradition in the Politburo's work or is it a temporary campaign?

[Pugo] I would like to reply by saying that this is not the beginning, it is the continuation of a tradition which has always existed but I agree with you that over recent years, no doubt, there have not been enough of these meetings.

[At this point the scene switches back to Pugo answering questions from the platform of the students' meeting]

[Pugo] The real situation in the party is shaping up as follows, that a deep stratification has taken place, a division between the party apparatus and functionaries and ordinary communists. The reasons for this are to be found in the lack of any feedback and any real participation by the rank and file communists in elections.

Indeed they do try to talk a great deal about the fact that there is stratification between the apparatus, between the party. Who am I? The apparatus? [barely heard voices from the hall shouting: Yes] But I am a candidate member of the Politburo. Why am I the apparatus? Let's sort out what we mean by the apparatus and what we mean by the elected bodies. They are certainly not one and the same thing. When they sometimes say the party and the apparatus—well there is an apparatus. The party, too, will not be able to work without an apparatus. That is perfectly clear. The fact that a renewed party needs a renewed apparatus is another matter.

[Unidentified speaker] Rank and file communists do not always have the opportunity to participate in the country's political life and in making decisions. There is no feedback between the apparatus and rank and file communists because there is no appointment by election. That is what the question amounts to, precisely that.

[Pugo] Then I will no doubt accept your questions, I will accept the question both on the form in which it is put and as regards its content. The only thing is that I would not put it...I would not talk in such categorical and absolute terms.

What consequences do you foresee if Article 6 of the USSR Constitution is abolished?

The whole of our Constitution is in need of very serious reshaping. I think—and this is my very deepest conviction—that the role of the country's public organizations and the country's communist party will be formulated in some way in the constitution, the new one, no doubt. My own very deep internal conviction is that the main thing is that we communists and our party as a whole should indeed be an authority in a real way and that it should in actual fact be the vanguard, the political vanguard, of our country.

What are the functions, the rights, and the obligations of the committee which you represent?

I will formulate this reply very briefly. The chief task of the Party Control Committee is to concern itself and do everything possible to ensure that our party recovers as quickly as possible, that there are no unhealthy processes taking place within it. This must be done by every communist and by every organ, but especially by the Party Control Committee.

Sometimes I am asked whether I work a lot. Well, no doubt there is a lot of work. The normal day begins at 0830 and always ends between 2100 and 2130. I always go home feeling that unfortunately very many matters have been left unfinished. The feeling of dissatisfaction, I tell you, stays with me the whole time.

[At this point the scene switches back to the interview between Pugo and the female correspondent of "view" mentioned earlier]

[Correspondent] You said that the main objective of the Party Control Committee which you head is to help the party recover as quickly as possible. The question evidently boils down to the measures that are employed: There is therapy, so to speak, there is surgery, there are other means. What do you consider the means should be for bringing the party back to health in the very first place, say, what's needed?

[Pugo] I think that the whole set should be used. Sometimes it will be necessary for us to carry out the most acute operations, that is absolutely justified, although at times it is very painful. Here, perhaps, at present we do not have any specific individual on whom we are conducting an examination at the moment, but if some material is received, we will indeed take surgical measures. One must not underestimate the value of preventative measures; these, too, are a very serious matter, and in talking about disease no doubt prevention also plays a very important part in the whole of health care and it must play the same kind of role in the party, too.

[At this point the scene switches from the interview with the correspondent to Pugo answering questions from the platform put by those attending the meeting]

[Unidentified speaker] My first question. You are perfectly well aware that during the period of stagnation and during the 5 years of perestroyka the country has been brought virtually to a state of extreme ruin. Correct? No one disputes it. How, from the moral point of view, is it possible during that period of time to raise the pay of party, trade union, Komsomol, and local bodies of power, while resources are not being found for improving the living conditions of 43 million people who are living on the brink of destitution in our country and when they can't find the resources to raise student grants. That is my first question.

In my opinion not one person during the time I have been working as a party secretary, working in my own time I have not once yet seen anyone voluntarily leave a rayon party committee, a city party committee, or an oblast party committee on account of the pay. On the contrary they have always rushed to get in there. That is the first question. If we, the 20 million rank-and-file Communists were to be asked how we viewed this, we would say: Wait a minute, when you act in such a way that there is plenty in the country then we will say take it, Nikolay Fedorovich and the other comrades, and good luck to you. [aplause]

Let's go back. I'm 10 years older than you are. How many leaders do we have for example who have headed party bodies, trade union, Komsomol bodies, and Central Committees and who have received orders for great achievements, for each achievement? If one adds together all of these lofty achievements then we should have been living under Communism long ago. Where are these lofty feats? All of them are enjoying their well-earned rest. The holders of personal pension receive appropriate pensions of enormous dimensions. They do not have to answer for what is now being done in the country. That is my first question.

Some of them slow down perestroyka, those like Aliyev and others, Medunov. Why haven't they been stripped of their titles of heroes of socialist labor for deceiving the party, the people, and so on?

[Pugo] You are saying that the country is in a very difficult situation. You use some very strong expressions. Well, the country really is in a very complex situation and this description has been given in our party documents. One mustn't lay it on too thick, although everything is very, very difficult and very complicated. To bring it out of this condition people are needed. I don't know, but you ask a question about... when one has to.... [changes thought] I was talking to a girl here and I asked her what her pay will be when she starts work at a school or in production after completing her university course: R140 in production, R170 in a school. That's what she told me, I'm repeating what she said. One would like it to be more, perhaps. But one has to be starting as a specialist to get R170 here. You want the economy to be led by people who know economics. But no doubt that a specialist at the start of his career should get R170 or R140 in production it means that a skilled worker has to receive R20 more, or R10 more. The deputy director of the works, no doubt, has to receive another R10 more, and the director again a further R10. Add it all up. Ultimately part from the fact that the workload is added to very much, a co-operator today isn't going to be budged into going into administrative work or party work: He won't go. Comrades, I don't want to embellish my own position, but I myself have had to transfer—well, I've counted how many times I have lost pay and how many times my pay has been increased. I have lost pay twice and I have gained pay twice. If the time comes when they say to me, when a Communist says to me if it's at a regular congress, dear Comrade Pugo you're working with the wrong methods and we won't elect you. Well I'll go into production. So what—it's a perfectly normal thing. I don't see anything wrong in that. Orders are for feats. Indeed orders really were being given out the whole time. It was wrong. I think you

have convinced yourselves of the fact that there has been no more of this feverish haste recently. About the fact that they have not been brought to book. Well Medunov was expelled from the party a year ago. About Kunayev and the others.

[Unidentified voice from floor] Aliyev.

[Pugo] Aliyev was it? Well, Aliyev, Kunayev, about Romanov. What do you know about Comrade Romanov? What some voice served up? [indistinct interjection from the floor]

Comrades there is after all such a thing as legitimacy, and indeed if I were in the place of many of the people we are talking about I would certainly take it to court, when there are accusations of slander. I do not say this applies to Medunov or Aliyev or Kunayev. But there are the following issues which no doubt no one can ignore. Kunayev: He is on the books in Alma Ata and the party control committee cannot take up his case now—I see smiles as if to say that Pugo allegedly doesn't want to do so: My reasoning is different. There is the party organization of Kazakhstan which know what the situation is in the republic now and which gets the information and which has the right to raise the question and to resolve it.

[Unidentified speaker] In other countries there are members of congress, member of the Cortes, members of Parliament and simply deputies. In our country they are people's deputies. In what respect are they more of the people than they are in other countries?

[Pugo] In what way are they more of the people?

[Second Unidentified speaker] Why are they called people's deputies?

[Pugo] Don't you like that? Do you think it's not a good name? But you know so far not one people's deputy, for some reason or other, has said anything at all in that connection, but perhaps there will be an opportunity and I'll give information about it.

In your view is the party's name—the Communist Party—in keeping with the new content of its work? In my opinion it is fully in keeping. I think and I consider that in the program document which is going to be prepraed we must not define any particular landmarks, say, as was done at one time when it was declared that in such an such a year a certain stage would be built: That, no doubt, is an absolutely incorrect road. But in its orientation, in its structure, the Communist Party, I consider that that name is fully in keeping both with the objectives and the forms of its work and it must be retained.

[unidentified speaker] It is known that Mr Rosenberg did not shoot one single Soviet prisoner of war nor one single Soviet person, but it is known that on the basis of his orders heroic work in destroying many, many peoples of the Soviet Union was set in motion—many peoples of the Soviet Union, including those of the Baltic. We also know that an all-union headman, for whom I have the greatest disrespect, signed a decree on 8 August 1932 under which Soviet people of 12 years and over could be placed at the edge of the grave—capital punishment for children. This was signed by Mikhail Ivanovich Kalinin, known to us as a great specialist in the matter of the Communist education of young people. Communist education, exactly. I would be interested in hearing a brief "yes" from you: If Rosenberg was tried at the Nuremburg trials, where are we to try Comrade Kalinin? In Verkhnyaya Troitsa? In Minsk? Or in Moscow? Your specific point of view on the figure of this man. In our view—and here I am speaking as a member of the coordinating council of the Tver Association of Initiative Groups and as a teacher of the Kalinin State University. Your brief "yes"—is Kalinin a criminal or a worthy member of the Communist Party alongside Comrade Stalin and Kaganovich, together with whom he is in the same organization as you and Nikolay Fedorovich are? [applause]

[Pugo] Judging by the applause the speech went down well. I think that what was said was said properly, but full of sarcasm, no doubt. Well expressed, well done to the comrade who spoke. [laughter, applause] It is true that Kalinin did sign that document. That is true. Alas that is so. The fact that this does not become him in any straightforward way is perfectly obvious. As to the situation he was in at that time, well, no doubt your comrades are also well aware of that, too, perhaps. I don't think it's necessary to go deeply into this position. Indeed, no doubt the question being raised is the question of renaming [the city of Kalinin, formerly Tver]. A correct question, it must be resolved. If, say, I had to vote on it I would vote in favor.

[Video changes to the interview given by Pugo to the "View" correspondent]

[Correspondent] You very often have occasion to address different audiences and to hold meetings, let us put it like that. What do you like doing most of all—listening or speaking?

[Pugo] I think that I am one of those people who love to listen. I cannot see myself without that. In fact meetings take place to tell people something and certainly to receive some kind of new charge. Today's meeting—I don't know what assessment it was given by the students of Kalinin University, but for me, at least, and I am talking about this sincerely, this meeting has provided a lot of impetus for thinking both about the major issues which affect the party and about myself. The right to hold some other opinion has to be recognized. Without that life simply becomes pointless. You know, you remember there is a proverb. I don't know, perhaps it's a saying, that truth is born as a heresy and dies as a prejudice. I believe that that is absolutely true and am always ready to meet and discuss with people who have a different point of view.

[Correspondent] Thank you. I hope that one of these meetings will take place on the "View" program. Thank you very much.

[Pugo] Thank you very much.

Official Says Moscow Could Reconsider Reforms

BK2201103290 Hong Kong AFP in English 1001 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] New Delhi, Jan 22 (AFP)—A top Soviet media official indicated here Monday [22 January] that widespread ethnic unrest in the republics could force the Kremlin to think again about Mikhail Gorbachev's reform policies. Leonid Kravchenko, director-general of the TASS news agency, told a select gathering of journalists here that the policies of perestroika and glasnost were meant to help spur economic and social freedom.

"But unfortunately the political level of the people made it difficult for them to grasp the essence of these reform measures," the PRESS TRUST OF INDIA (PTI) quoted Mr Kravchenko as saying.

The TASS chief, here on an invitation from PTI, added that this could force Moscow to take "some severe steps," hinting that the policies could be reconsidered. He did not elaborate but added that no threat existed to the leadership of Mr Gorbachev or to his government because of the unrest in the republics.

Mr Kravchenko said the situation in Azerbaijan and Armenia was "very tense and complex." Militants controlled 18 out of 28 regions in Azerbaijan and were armed with sophisticated weapons such as machineguns, anti-aircraft guns, rockets and mortars, he said.

"They have become so powerful... That there exists no effective Soviet power there," he said.

The Soviet official said republics with large populations would not be economically viable if they seceded from Moscow. He also ruled out the possibility of the United States according recognition to a seceded republic.

"Though there are global interests and politics playing a role, the U.S. will not have relations with a republic at the cost of the very good relations it has with the USSR," he was quoted as saying.

Tyumen Obkom Appoints Interim Leader

PM2201155590 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 20 Jan 90 Second Edition p 2

[Special correspondent V. Pinigin report: "Plenum Over"]

[Text] Tyumen—The Tyumen CPSU Oblast Committee [Obkom] Plenum continued yesterday. Once again there was a discussion at the session about the procedure for electing the first secretary and members of the party obkom bureau. Having discussed the prevailing situation, the plenum repealed its former resolution, under which it had been proposed to elect bureau members and the first secretary after a short interval. An interim bureau under the chairmanship of V. Kitayev, secretary of the CPSU Obkom, has been elected for day-to-day work. It has been decided to hold an oblast report and election party conference this April. Candidates for first secretary have been nominated for discussion by all the oblast's Communists. Party organizations are entitled to nominate their own candidates.

The plenum participants adopted an appeal to the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium describing the socioeconomic situation in the oblast, and established the need to take urgent measures to rectify the situation.

This concluded the plenum.

RSFSR Election Campaign Near Close

LD2201113990 Moscow TASS in English 1025 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 22 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Lev Aksenov:

The current stage in the election campaign, registration of candidates for people's deputies, is drawing to an end in the Russian Federation today. According to tentative figures from the Republican Central Election Commission, more than 8,000 candidates were nominated to run for 1,068 seats in the Soviet of People's Deputies of the Russian Federation. The elections are set for March 4.

Andrey Shirokov, representative of the Moscow City Council Executive Committee, told TASS that 571 candidates had been nominated in 65 Moscow electoral districts, about eight contenders for each mandate. Among the candidates are representatives of various segments of the population and professions. They include Yuriy Karabasov, secretary of the Soviet Communist Party City committee, and Vladimir Burakovskiy, director of the Cardio-Vascular Surgery Institute.

There are [words indistinct] candidates, among them Vladimir Mukusev, an anchor of the popular television programme Vzglyad, Yuriy Izyumov, first deputy editor-in-chief of the LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, and Sergey Cheskidov, news analyst of the USSR State Committee for Radio and Television.

Most of the candidates were nominated by work collectives, Shirokov said. Public organisations did not fully use their right to [words indistinct] make up approximately one fourth of the pool of contenders to deputy mandates in Moscow. There are a few young people, women and workers among candidates.

The campaign to elect People's Deputies of the Russian Federation is entering a crucial phase when candidates begin meeting their electors, who will decide who is worthy of representing their interests in the republic's supreme body of authority.

Yakovlev Rehabilitation Panel's Work

PM1701161790 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 1, 7 Jan 90 pp 6-7

[Interview with Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CSPU Central Committee, by MOSCOW NEWS editor-in-chief: "Only Moral Democracy Can Overcome Our Tragic Past"; date, place of interview not given]

[Text] MN's guest today is Alexander Yakovlev, Member of the Politburo and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, who talks with MN's Editor-in-Chief about the activities of the Commission of the Central Committee's Politburo led by him, studying evidence linked to the repressive measures of the 1930s-1940s and early 1950s.

MN: Don't you think it is now possible to state your views in general about the political trials of past times and adopt a legislative act which would declare these trials unlawful and all those convicted at them rehabilitated?

Yakovlev: There were about 70 organized political trials about which the public often knew very little. Even some historians are hearing about them for the first time. As far as general rehabilitation is concerned, steps in this direction have already been made. On the basis of the Commission's work the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet passed a Decree on cancelling the extra-judicial decisions made by "troikas" and "special conferences". We have been developing the same approach by studying—very carefully—the materials linked to the dispossessing of the kulaks (rich peasants).

Finally, the main idea—not yet formulated to the end. We need to display both justice and mercy in relation to all those who were victimized for political reasons. Justice in relation to those innocently victimized, and mercy for those who committed offences against society, who might even have perpetrated crimes. But all this took place under certain conditions and was an emotional or, some other, reply to lawlessness, to whatever a person could not accept. I believe that such a general declaration is acceptable and would be consistent with the moral atmosphere today.

MN: We mustn't limit ourselves to formal and mostly posthumous rehabilitation. We would like to express our attitude to such phenomena as "cleaning" the cities of the exploiting classes, dispossessing the kulaks, persecuting those who happened to be taken prisoner, evicting whole nations and, finally, stripping "dissidents" of their citizenship. If we recognize our state to be the legal successor to the state which existed right up to the moment of perestroika, we must assume responsibility for everything that state did—for both the good and bad things. Such public repentance will improve the moral atmosphere and rid us of any reservations.

Yakovlev: Your list of illegal actions—from "cleaning" the cities to "dissidents"—is rather varied, though based on the same horrible foundation of injustice and ruthlessness, actions which led to the deformation of socialism, for which we are still paying to this day. Collectivization, for instance, must be seen in the general political context of Stalin's line—in effect, a Trotskyite line—based on hatred for the peasant as the source of petty-bourgeois elements capable of bringing about a return to capitalism. This "theoretical" guidepost was in itself incorrect and led to arbitrary rule in practice. The Russian peasantry, being poor en masse, could not become a force leading to the restoration of the capitalist system because, essentially, it did not know what kind of a system it was. Evidently, this guidepost was borrowed from the West and bears no relation whatsoever to Russia's circumstances.

If, however, we speak about the injustice done to our soldiers who found themselves taken prisoner, this simply doesn't fit in any framework of normal reason. I witnessed people being taken prisoner—not through their own fault, not through cowardice. Some of them became members of the German policy and punitive forces—but they were a tiny fraction of the mass of people who were placed outside society after the war.

MN: I understand that the crimes of the past were dictated by different motives every time, but they were committed in the same state—the one in which we live today.

Yakovlev: Right. And yet we are building a different state, I believe. Although we do not renounce the legacy created by the people. I would not contrast public repentance with practical work to commemorate the memory of innocent victims.

This work is carred out now, though not on a sufficiently active scale: people find the sites of mass executions, put memorial cemeteries in order, erect monuments to the victims of repression—to keep alive the memory of them—this is what repentance means.

Or do you still believe that there is a need for common repentance on behalf of those who suffered? But then, who must apologize to whom? We and our contemporaries, whose relatives were arrested or killed? Or should someone else—those who also had their tragedies—offer their repentance to us?

MN: It is important that public opinion should realize the criminal brutality of the past. For the time being there is no such inanimity. Haven't you ever heard people saying: there was a time when no one was wrongly imprisoned? Or take the protests evoked by articles calling for justice for those reported missing in action.

Yakovlev: Correct. When I was in Canada, I received a warm letter from a former Soviet citizen, who happened to live in that distant country. During the war he did something heroic, was severely wounded and taken prisoner. His own troops did not know this. He was posthumously awarded the title of Hero of the Soviet Union. A school was named after him in the area where he was

brought up. His sister still lived there. But he didn't write to her for fear she may get into trouble. All these years he was longing for his native country. And then he addressed the Soviet Ambassador, having decided, late in life, to tell everything, with the naive hope that justice would prevail. I immediately sent a cable to Moscow requesting that a ticket home be arranged for him so that he could see his sister and the school bearing his name. I received a reply staggering for its cynicism: such and such had been deprived of the title of Hero of the Soviet Union because it was awarded by mistake. The school no longer carried his name and his relatives lost all the benefits they had enjoyed. Thus, the tragedy repeated itself.

MN: During the war innocent people found themselves in labour camps extracting coal and cutting timber, helping the cause of victory. Why not recognize their right to recive the medal "For Valorous Labour in the Great Patriotic War" and other benefits due to them.

Yakovlev: This is a fair question. But it is up to the legislative and executive authority. The Commission addressed an official letter to the USSR Council of Ministers, recommending that all this should be envisaged in the new pension law.

MN: In contrast to the work done after the 20th Party Congress, your Commission does not confine itself to rehabilitating the victims of repressions, but seeks to throw light on the mechanism of this butchery directed against the people. What decided this broader scope?

Yakovlev: I can't answer for all members of the Commission. As far as I am concerned, the deeper I go into this matter, the less I understand about what possessed people. I understand why one group fell victim to the denunciations of another if we look at the villainy committed at the local level or local villainy accompanied by the sway of political intrigues. Efforts were made to inculcate intolerance, amass suspicions, to burn out comradeship, numerous meetings exposed and stigmatized people, and it became absolutely necessary to find the outsider or the witch. This is how lawlessness, denunciation developed, making society permanently schizophrenic. But I still cannot help asking myself why this happened, who profited. What motivated the architect of this Lucerifism? What caused him to betray socialism? It is very difficult to find the answer. In effect, this is what is meant by the words "on the other side of good and evil". With our people - courageous, patient and merciful - it is possible to overturn mountains. And all of a sudden, such horrible, total mistrust, such an ocean of blood. The boundless political, moral and whatever you like disintegration of the people who stood at the helm of that horible action is beyond my comprehension.

MN: We usually say the system is to blame. Someone once said that if a cat is put through a washing machine, the cat will always have a complex about washing machines.

Yakovlev: People are not cats. The system of dictatorship, of corrupting one-man rule, had a decisive part to play. But what can explain such mass hysteria of intolerance? Incidentally, from time to time, we are reminded of this in our lives. How often we still hear accusations. This is about people, not their situation.

Ruthlessness comes from those times, from that spirit of serfdom.

MN: You mentioned serfdom. Here we have the effect primarily of society's being unprepared for socialism. Lenin believed that there was a need to take power and use it to accelerate society's development. But power, as we all know, can be both for good and for bad.

Yakovlev: I don't agree with this. It is the cult mentality which turns Lenin into a superman who could forsee everything and penetrate everything.

On the other hand, there were mistakes too. Commodity-free utopia, the exaggerated role of violence. The same surplus-appropriation system was not brought forth by historical necessity. The underestimation at all stages - except the New Economic Policy - of the principles of the cooperative movement.

But I would also like to add that any revolution is always associated with some romanticism - mostly sincere and pure. This has to be safeguarded.

Incidentally, there is romanticism even today, under perestroyka. It is this romanticism that convinces me that what we have is really a revolution.

But romanticism always verges on error, with wishes outweighing sober calculation. Emotions run high. For instance, when rights were extended to enterprises, it seemed to us that the collectives would use freedom with enthusiasm and a high decree of awareness. But, in some cases, this developed into banal group egotism.

Romantic overlaps always occur at historical crossroads. And, returning to Lenin, I wouldn't act as his judge. Every person, even a great one, acts in compliance wit historical circumstances. And even a man of genius cannot jump out of his time.

MN: But where is the guarantee, at least the hope, that the past is irrevocable?

Yakovlev: The only way is through democracy and people's control over authority, over the activities of any person placed in a position of authority; through a firm procedure for lawmaking; through glasnost everywhere. The microbe of arbitrary rule, the microbe of dictatorship always lives without glasnost, in the absence of democracy. It turns us into little Unterprishibeyeves (a Chekhov character - Ed) and big petty-Napoleans.

Democracy. And moral health... Hitler came to power through a people's referendum. But, together with this

formal expression of democratic principles, there triumphed profound immorality: national hostility, a nation poisoned with the idea of being special.

Therefore, when I speak about the guarantees of the past being irrevocable, I always add - moral democracy. Democracy based on deep-rooted human morality and conscience.

MN: What does work in the Commission mean for you personally, how is it going?

Yakovlev: It's difficult. Maybe because of my personal qualities. I am no good at returning blows. All this makes a terrible impression on me. Although I understand that things must be brought to their logical conclusion. I suffer because people whom I considered crystal clear, whom I imagined to be heroes are turning out to be both victims and, I regret using the word, "butchers". Both victims and criminals. It is this aspect of history which is morally insoluble.

Trade Union Chairman Retraction Reprinted

PM2201101590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 3

[Reprint of ZARYA VOSTOKA item: "'People's Deputy Apologizes'"]

[Text] "Telegram from Moscow:

"Tbilisi. The republican committee of construction workers' trade union. To Georgiy Irakliyevich Abuashvili. In connection with the conclusion of the commission for the investigation of the events which occurred in Tbilisi City 9 August 1989 and with the assessment of these events by the second Congress of USSR People's Deputies, I recognize as erroneous the position on this question which I voiced at the construction workers' seminar in Bittsa 5 July 1989. I offer you my sincere apologies.

"USSR People's Deputy 6 A.M. Yakovlev, chairman of the Central Committee of construction and construction materials industry workers trade union."

(ZARYA VOSTOKA, Tbilisi)

Chairman of Christian Democrats on Policies

AU1801111490 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 17 Jan 90 p 3

[Interview with Aleksandr Ogorodnikov, chairman of the Russian Christian Democrats, by DER STANDARD reporter Boris Borisow in Vienna: "First Russia Must Become Independent"; date not given]

[Text] Borisow: What is your attitude toward the international Christian Democratc movements, and the European movement in particular?

Ogorodnikov: We are against Russia's artifical isolation from the Christian Democratic world, from the West as a whole. After the victory of democracy in Russia, the priority objective will be the elimination of the terrible stereotype of the Russian threat to Europe. We are in favor of a free, parliamentarian Russia within the European family of peoples. Our union joined the International Christian Democratic Association in Guatemala in September 1989.

Borisow: What is your attitude toward private property? At present, this seems to be one of the most sensitive issues.

Ogorodnikov: Yes, this is one of the three points on which the Communist Party will not give way. I would say that this is completely contrary to its core. But for us these three points are essential: God, freedom, and private property.

Borisow: What are the characeristics of the new election campaign?

Ogorodnikov: It is funny and new, but for me it is a farce that the Communists are beginning to play the martyr. The Gdlyans, Ivanovs, Yeltsins and now even Gorbachev himself start to pretend that they are victims of the party's conservative wing. In fact, however, they are the new masters of the party and nobody is persecuting them. They only want to arouse general sympathy.

Borisow: That is to say, you believe that Gorbachev is not in danger?

Ogorodnikov: I do not know how these rumors were picked up by the Western press. No, Gorbachev is well in command of the situation. Although regional party leaders do not like him, they are not the masters. And he is firmly in control of Moscow. Even Ligachev does not seem to oppose him at all. These rumors are greatly exaggerated.

Borisow: Is your party registered?

Ogorodnikov: We applied for this several times. The latest answer of the Council of Ministers and the Justice Ministry was: You cannot be registered, because there is no constitutional article that makes possible the registration of a noncommunist party. This is the grimace of a totalitarian state.

Borisow: How strong are the rightist, Slavophile parties now?

Ogorodnikov: They can hardly be called parties. Maybe groups. "Pamyat" has split up into six small groups. They have no public support. Now their meetings do not attract more than 50 people, although they are permitted by the authorities.

Borisow: What is your view on Russia's future status?

Ogorodnikov: In the first place, Russia must become independent of the Soviet Union. Then it might seek new forms of federation with republics such as the Ukraine, Belorussia, Armenia, and others. But only if

they want it. In my opinion, freed from Communist ties, Russia could have an enormous potential. And do not forget that Russia learned a very great deal from 72 years of oppression.

Alekseyev Views Role of Oversight Panel

PM2201124790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 3

[Interview with S. Alekseyev, chairman of the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee, by IZVESTIYA parliamentary observer V. Shchepotkin under rubric "Dialogue With Deputy": "The Constitution of Perestroyka"—no place or date given]

[Text] V. Shchepotkin: Sergey Sergeyevich, in the course of a previous interview I had to explain to readers that the stance taken by my interlocutor was his personal stance. My stance was best described as a concentrated expression of the opinion of various people based on letters, poll results, and personal meetings. In short, the opinion of the masses, in some respect. But I think that this cannot be said about the topic of today's dialogue—constitutional oversight in the country. Judging at least by the information at my disposal, this question—constitutional oversight and the form it ought to take—still does not perturb the masses as much as, say, rising crime and economic problems.

S. Alekseyev: I think that it is wrong not to be perturbed. If only because the existence of constitutional oversight demonstrates the actual existence of a rule-of-law state. Of course, it is bad when a society experiences illegalities stemming from violations of existing legal norms. In my view, however, the most frightening trampling of the ideas and principles of a rule-of-law state occurs when laws and other normative acts are promulgated contrary to a given state's ideals and principles as enshrined in its constitution.

The fact that we have somewhat delayed the creation of constitutional oversight does no credit to our society and our political system.

The very fact that constitutional oversight has existed for decades in the overwhelming majority of developed countries speaks for itself. It is especially necessary in a federal state like ours, where the relationship between union laws and the laws of the federation's individual subjects could be a permanent topic of discussion. We have already encountered the phenomenon of union republics adopting laws which are outside their powers. And the solution of arguments about power between the union and the union republics, the solution of arguments on constitutional issues with whoever it might be, requires a special organ which would make the final decision in each specific case.

V. Shchepotkin: Fine, the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies created it. But as you might recall, the arguments were very acute. Many deputies spoke out against the very existence of constitutional oversight in the country at this precise moment in time. Of course, today we could detach ourselves from this struggle because it is already past history. But this would hardly be the right thing to do. The Supreme Soviet still has to ratify the committee's composition, apart from its chairman and deputy chairman, who were appointed by the Congress, and therefore arguments about it have not receded into the past. For this reason I would like to repeat some of the arguments. For example, according to one opinion, it is necessary to begin at least with a substantial revision [dorabotka] of the constitution currently in force, if not with the adoption of an altogether new one. After all, we—I mean our federal state—find ourselves in special conditions where mutual relations between the subjects of this union have still not been totally defined.

S. Alekseyev: You know, if we were to adhere to this logic, there would be no innovations at all in our country. The Law on Leasing could not be adopted until the Law on Ownership was promulgated. Before the Law on Ownership was adopted, we would have to adopt a new constitution. Everything would come to a standstill. The elaboration of a constitution is a long job! The result would be no advance at all. I think that the fact that a new constitution has not been adopted yet does not create a substantial obstacle to operations by an organ like the Constitutional Oversight Committee. It seems to me, moreover, that its very creation will to a certain extent speed up the process of preparing a new constitution and will prove the extreme need for it. Relying on the country's fundamental law now in force, the constitutional oversight organ will be able to take into account the new provisions and new ideas taking shape during the preparation of the new constitution. After all, a new constitution is not a product of bureaucratic invention, as if a few people sit down and think it up. For example, the constitution now in force makes no provision for diversity of forms of ownership. But the Law on Ownership and the Law on Leasing are not just current requirements, they were needed even yesterday. What decision will the Constitutional Oversight Committee make in these circumstances? Will it cling to obsolete formulas in the constitution now in force? Or will it now proceed from the constitutional provisions the shaping of which is in full swing? I think that it is bound to follow the innovations and trends which are already in existence. This is very important. I also think that by doing this work, ruling on the constitutionality of particular provisions, the committee could ensure that they are more swiftly and more organically incorporated in the future fundamental law. If we adopt a wait-and-see attitude, the development of events will end up by losing the revolutionary pace it now needs. Everything must promote the creation of perestroyka conditions today. Including the constitutional oversight organ. At present, pending the adoption of a new constitution, I perceive it not as some sort of guardian but as an organ which will be involved at very high level in the process of creating the new fundamental law.

V. Shchepotkin: We see today that the supreme soviets in some union republics have adopted a whole series of normative acts which have been deemed by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium to contravene the country's constitution. The Constitutional Oversight Committee will probably have to have its say here. But the USSR Supreme Soviet has adopted the Law on Leasing and is about to adopt the Law on Ownership, and yet these laws fall outside the framework of the constitution now in force as much as the republics' laws. But their acts are deemed anticonstitutional while these have to be supported. There seems to be some contradiction here.

S. Alekseyev: In my view, there are no contradictions. Here is the first reason why. The Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies envisaged a procedure for the entry into force of the Law on Ownership and others like it whereby no preliminary amendment of the appropriate articles of the country's constitution is required. Moreover, so far as relations between the union and the union republics are concerned, with the exception of questions concerning citizens' rights, the actual Law on Constitutional Oversight in the USSR will come into force only after the appropriate articles of the country's fundamental law have been amended. Second, unlike the Presidium, which can determine whether a law conforms or not, the Constitutional Oversight Committee must take a much broader view. It must look at the entire spectrum of factors which prompted a given republic to adopt an act at variance with the fundamental law now in force. Of course, it must not act in a purely mechanical fashion but, having determined certain circumstances, it ought to seek a way out of the prevailing situation. In the spirit of a rule-of-law state, in the spirit of the constitution. I believe that the committee will be able to perform its mission only when it is able to conduct its work on a constructive, creative, and profoundly scientific basis. After all, the committee comprises most eminent academics, political scientists, and jurists. Their task must not be the task of some sort of watchdog. Yes, it will be necessary to establish the fact of noncompliance with the constitution, but then it will be necessary to think of ways out of the situation and the decisions which will have to be made.

V. Shchepotkin: The decisions which will have to be made.... World practice offers sufficient examples. Let us look no further than the experience of one of the most mature federal states—the United States of America, which is so highly regarded by some opponents of constitutional oversight—and we will perceive the necessary solutions. The entire American federation is based on the principle of supremacy of the federal law—union law in our usage—over state laws. It goes almost without saying that our own union can be based only on this principle. But we see the republics, one after another, adopting acts which state that union laws will come into force on their territories only after ratification by republican supreme soviets.

S. Alekseyev: You know, this is another matter that requires a calm approach. The point is that we have still not elaborated a proper structure of our legislative process offering the necessary scope to union republics. Centralist forces still dominate in our country, in some cases republics end up in an impasse, and yet they have to solve their problems. Our all-union legislative process makes no provision for such eventualities. This is why republics are, in a number of cases, forced to adopt acts contravening the union constitution. Hence the inconsistency.... Finally, it is necessary to define in general what will be deemed to be federal laws. Once we define this, they will operate unconditionally.

V. Shchepotkin: Maybe. The only point is, what is the guarantee that someone in the future will not feel hindered by the framework of even the new and more polished constitution? Constitutional nihilism may spread to other subjects of the federation. Will the oversight organ calmly observe violations of the community's fundamental law....

S. Alekseyev: I do not think that such instances will be a mass phenomenon once we have worked everything out. There are many such instances now but, once everything is regulated, many questions will either become altogether redundant or will not be so dramatic. It will be known that a certain range of questions will be resolved at federal level, and let all who disagree please apply to the Constitutional Oversight Committee.

V. Shchepotkin: Let us suppose, Sergey Sergeyevich, that once the Constitutional Oversight Committee is in being, it is approached with a complaint about, say, unconstitutional actions by some party organ. This is not something usual, and it is hard to imagine how it could be dealt with.

S. Alekseyev: You know, I would not overdramatize this situation now. If only because much is in flux now, including political structures. But from the viewpoint of general constitutional principles and the judicial point of view, I nonetheless perceive it, the committee, as an organ with mainly judicial orientation, which, of course, means that everything must be within its scope. Everything without exception! And if such a need arose, what doubts could there be? I believe that this is a question of principle. The only point I would like to make once more is that this must be implemented in a calm, normal, constitutional atmosphere, and the actions of a party organ, of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, and of other organizations could all be discussed since they all come under the fundamental law's jurisdiction....

V. Shchepotkin: As well as of Councils of Ministers, and ministries....

S. Alekseyev: Yes, of course. While on the subject of the committee's powers, it will decide the most diverse issues. Questions of normative acts' compliance with the constitution, their legality, their legitimacy. It could draw the attention of anyone you like to unconstitutional actions. Including the country's Supreme Soviet and the Congress of USSR People's Deputies.

True, we cannot allow it to be swamped in complaints and letters, as has now happened with the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Questions of Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order. We have the Prosecutor's Office, and some questions in this sphere are examined by the courts. As for the most serious questions directly concerning the country's Fundamental Law—these are up to the Constitutional Oversight Committee.

V. Shchepotkin: So let's assume that the supreme constitutional body has made a decision. One side has been adjudged to be in the right and, as you said, the other side's action has been found to be illegal. But this other side continues to behave as if nothing happened.

S. Alekseyev: If the job is done thoughtfully, if the republic realizes that people are trying to understand its problems.... After all, we are accustomed to make decisions only in terms of "yes" and "no." But the questions arising now are complex, out of the ordinary, and therefore they must be solved by methods that are out of the ordinary. And I believe: The Constitutional Oversight Committee could actually become one of the mechanisms for solving arguments by legal and humane means.

V. Shchepotkin: During two long sessions of the country's Supreme Soviet millions of television viewers, voters, in other words, have become accustomed to frequently seeing USSR People's Deputy Alekseyev on the rostrum, clarifying some question or other in his capacity as chairman of the Committee for Questions of Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order. I am now probably one of the last journalists to interview you in your capacity as people's deputy, since the chairman of the Constitutional Oversight Committee must resign his deputy's mandate. In this context, Sergey Sergeyevich, are you not losing an opportunity to actively influence the process of shaping the rule-of-law state and, ultimately, are not sorry to lose your status as deputy?

S. Alekseyev: Whether I am sorry to lose my status as deputy or not does not comeinto the question—this is what the law prescribes, therefore this is how it will be. But I am sorry to withdraw from the creative work that was done in the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Questions of Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order. Major issues developed there and, unfortunately, I have not yet finished my work on many of them. But in my new office I expect primarily to contribute toward the creation of a rule-of-law state, and second, I shall remain as unpaid director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Urals Branch Philosophy and Law Institute and, together with my colleagues, will continue the theoretical work associated with the development of Soviet legislation and the building of a rule-of-law state.

Radioactivity Registered at Storage Facility

LD2301220590

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1800 GMT on 23 January, in its "Vremya" newscast, broadcasts a report on the safety of nuclear power stations. Correspondents V. Batalov and A. Kulikov report on the "slight" radioactivity that has been registered near a storage facility containing waste from the Leningrad Nuclear Electric Power Station [AES]. The video shows the exterior of a rectangular reservoir built above ground level, a large tank made of reinforced concrete blocks.

Batalov explains that once moisture entered the concrete tank, it combined with the waste to form a radioactive sludge that seeped through "microcracks" that developed in the concrete blocks. The sludge then began to penetrate the soil. The correspondents say that there is no danger—so they were told—but that preventive measures were taken. M.F. Yakushev, director of the experimental factory on whose ground the storage facility is located, said that it was necessary to build a further clay lining around the whole tank so that water could not enter and the waste could not escape. The video shows various radiation danger signs and other views of the storage tank.

Batalov points out that the radioactive waste would constitute an environmental hazard for the next 300 years. The storage tank was built to last only until the end of the century. The nature of the subsoil prevented the waste from being buried, and no one thought of looking for an alternative, more suitable site. Yakushev concludes by saying that there is no single view of the problem of how to dispose of radioactive waste, nor is there any real strategy for the future. There is no technology for processing the waste and then burying it. The Ministry of Atomic Power and the nuclear industry must tackle the problem quickly before there is irreversible damage, Batalov concludes.

'Seven Days' Views Lenin's Mausoleum Future

LD2101221590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 21 Jan 90

[From the "Seven Days" newscast presented by Eduard Sagalayev]

[Text] The discussions which have recently begun on the fate of the [Lenin's] Mausoleum have caused a stormy response. Ideas about reburying Lenin's remains have appeared. I think of how futile these discussions are as well as how pointless. The mausoleum has become a part of our history, and we should think today, it seems to me, about a quite different matter—how to understand Lenin in a new way, how to see him in a new light, and how to read him afresh. Yesterday, while preparing for today's program, I opened a volume of collected works of Vladimir Ilich and once again read his political testament—the letters to the congress.

And now I would just like to read out a short excerpt from this letter dated 22 [corrects himself] sorry, 23, December 1922: I would very strongly advise that a number of changes in our political system be made at this Congress. First, I would propose increasing the

Central Committee membership to several tens or even a hundred members. It seems to me that our Central Committee would be under grave threat if we failed to introduce such a reform. I think that such a step is also necessary to enhance the Central Committee's prestige, and for serious work to improve our apparatus and to prevent conflicts of small sections of the Central Committee acquiring excessive significance for all the destinies of the party. To my mind our party has a right to demand from the working class 50-100 Central Committee members, and can get them without excessive effort from the working class.

In the following letters Vladimir Ilich explained that by working class, by representatives of the working class, he means people of labor in general, including peasants, and he does not mean those workers who have in essence become part of the apparatus or represent a distinct workers' aristocracy. This excerpt, to my mind, sounds very modern.

MVD Official Views Control of Copiers

90UN0620A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 1, 6-12 Jan 90 p 8

[A. Churzin, chief of the USSR MVD Main Administration for the Safeguarding of Public Order Licensing System Department, answers reader's question in the letters to the editor section]

[Text] **What is the procedure for acquiring and installing copying equipment? Has there been any change in this sphere recently?**

Has a corresponding USSR Council of Ministers decree been adopted?
[Signed] S. Kantemirov, Voroshilovgrad.

[Churzin] On the basis of USSR Council of Ministers Decree 673 of 22 July 1977 the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] and the USSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and Book Trade drew up joint instructions concerning the procedure for the opening and functioning of printing works and duplicating divisions dated 10 December 1986. But permission only of the USSR MVD authorities is required for working with duplicating equipment.

The authorization is officially registered on the basis of a valid letter by the manager of the enterprise coordinated with its departmental management. The chief of the internal affairs authority authorizes the opening of a duplicating division if the premises correspond to the stipulated requirements and protective and fire alarm systems have been installed and also if the copier's meter is in working order.

There are more than 50,000 divisions, at which 160,000 copiers are located, in operation in the country at the present time.

A USSR Supreme Soviet edict of 7 September 1978 signed by L.I. Brezhnev provides for administrative liability for violation of the rules of working with duplicating equipment. The guilty parties are assessed a fine, which is imposed by soviet executive committee administrative commissions. Administrative proceedings are instituted annually against 3,000 persons all told.

I have quoted the official wording of the instructions, but the views of our staff, mine, specifically, are at variance with current practice, which is patently out of date.

At one time the internal affairs authorities registered typewriters. Technical progress has made great strides, and the laws in effect currently have become an impediment to our society's development. Private individuals, figures of public unions and "fronts", and cooperative officials travel abroad and acquire duplicating equipment there, but cannot bring it into the country and operate it. Our department intends proposing the lifting of police supervision of duplicating equipment, thereby making this equipment accessible to any organization and any individual. This is in the spirit of the final document of the Vienna meeting.

From the Editors:

We have experienced for ourselves a mass of formalities incomprehensible to the normal person of sound mind when we have attempted to install duplicating equipment. For example, aside from the signatures of the authorities specified in the instructions, it has also been necessary to apply to the sanitation and epidemiological center and to many other establishments in addition, on whose decision it would depend whether the editorial office had its own xerox or not.

In our view, the level of a civilized society is expressed in the attitude toward this problem. Our opinion does not differ from that of the leadership of many departments and, as we can see, employees of the USSR MVD. We sent the USSR Council of Ministers our readers' questions concerning measures simplifying the registration and use of copying-duplicating equipment, but, going by the verbal response we received, there have as yet been no changes.

Strong Workers Movement Could Aid Perestroyka

PM2401110190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Jan 90 Second Edition p 4

[Article by Doctors of Historical Sciences L. Gordon and E. Klopov under rubric "Questions of Theory. Discussion Forum": "Workers Movement: Costs and Gains"]

[Text] It is generally recognized that perestroyka, whose aim is the revolutionary renewal of our society, is at an extremely difficult stage. Particularly great difficulties have been caused by the sharp deterioration in the prestige of organs of power, including organs elected entirely democratically, on a legal basis.

This should not be seen as a specific feature of our revolutionary perestroyka. Historical experience attests that sooner or later the time comes in any revolution

when the current and until quite recently sufficiently effective forms and methods of making and implementing administrative decisions stop working and become ineffective.

The elections of USSR people's deputies and the miners strikes have clearly shown that most of our country's population is being rapidly politicized—above all, the working class and the mass intelligentsia. That is natural. Because the renewal of society which M. Gorbachev mentioned in his article "The Socialist Idea and Revolutionary Perestroyka" is a "natural product of the progress of civilization and the historic creativity of the working class and the working people's masses."

The people no longer want to live in the old way, and therefore we can no longer run society in the old way. The only effective administration will be administration in which unofficial social organizations participate along with organs of power. The inevitability of social conflicts and the need to reach compromise in order to resolve them must be recognized.

The length to which conflicts can go was shown by last summer's strikes, in which more than 500,000 miners took part. Their conclusion as a result of a mutually acceptable agreement between the strike committees and the government commissions attested to the possibility and effectiveness of political methods of resolving crisis situations. On the back of the wave of strikes there emerged an entire network of city, oblast, and interregional workers committees representing at least 1.5-2 million working people not only in the coal industries, but in other industrial sectors too.

The impact of these events on the political and ideological situation in the country and the course of the economic reform was enormous. Moreover, there is every reason to claim that the working class had entered the arena of sociopolitical struggle seriously and for the long term.

The reborn workers movement, which was clearly reaffirmed by the miners strikes of the "hot summer" of 1989, was aimed at defending the social interests of hired workers—above all, workers, rank-and-file specialists, and employees in industry, construction, and transportation.

In this connection we want to draw attention to the fact that, despite rumors to the contrary which were zealously spread by certain newspapers and other of the mass media, the miners' demands were by no means dominated by narrow group, egoistic claims or a simple desire to increase their wages and improve supplies to mining towns through a redistribution of existing stocks. On the contrary, the strikers demonstrated many times their solidarity with other workers. That is what People's Deputy V. Filippov of the Komi Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic said at the second congress. One of the important demands made by the Vorkuta miners was connected with the fact that, under current procedures, when workers are transferred from one enterprise to another, they lose their northern supplements. This makes workers dependent on the administration and puts them in a similar position to the kolkhoz (collective farm) members who lacked passports in Stalinist times. As a result of their month-long strike the miners succeeded in getting this procedure abolished. But the state currently does not have any opportunity to extend this rule to all enterprises. The miners have decided that the fulfillment of this demand will be postponed until conditions emerge under which everyone can enjoy this privilege.

The democratic workers movement is bringing up both general economic and political demands. That is, it is again a question of a growth in self-awareness. It has not been parasitical sentiments which have prevailed but the realization that only radical changes in society will help workers solve social and consumer problems and satisfy their spiritual needs. This is clearly reflected in the programmatic statement of the Union of Kuzbass Working People, which considers its fundamental task to be "to eliminate the bureaucratic-edict system in the economy and to transfer the right to dispose of wealth to those who create it," as well as to assert the equality of "all the forms of ownership possible under socialism: Public ownership, state ownership, republic ownership, municipal ownership, collective ownership, cooperative ownership, private-labor ownership, share ownership, mixed ownership, personal ownership, and other types."

In other words, the main thing that democratic workers' organizations want is to create the conditions under which people are able, through their own labor, to safeguard their own prosperity, and with it the prosperity of society. From a general historical and social perspective their other demands are more or less secondary. Although, of course, these "other" demands—from wage increases for evening and night shifts to regular supplies of soap and special clothing—are by no means unimportant to the miners and other workers. The campaign for the satisfaction of these demands maintained the spirits of a considerable number of strikers.

This direction of the workers movement presupposes its genuine autonomy and independence from other social structures, all the more so from economic and departmental structures. This, incidentally, does not rule out solidarity and cooperation between the movement and other organizations on the platform of protecting workers' interests. Nor should party committees remain above this. Their political and organizational experience could promote the formation and development of the democratic workers movement and more clearly determine its thrust. At the same time, the trade unions—which exist to protect working people's interests—seem to have been left on the sidelines by the workers movement. Forming part of the system of state administrative organs, the unions have defended not the interests of the working class but the interests of this system.

It is gratifying that the trade unions are vigorously trying to change this position. But, unfortunately, the lessons

and logic of the reborn workers movement have not yet been wholly learned by certain trade union figures. Instead of becoming more actively involved in the campaign to deepen the economic and political reforms, they have started promoting ill-considered slogans. The desire for immediate success in this area is placed above the defense of the fundamental and long-term interests of the working class. At the same time, favorable conditions are created for demagogues, and the way is eased for dark forces to attempt (and they already have) to latch onto the workers movement.

The resurgence of the workers movement means that perestroyka has an opportunity to rely on support among the broad strata of working people—support which is strong enough to force the conscientious and unconscientious opponents of reform to submit to the political will of its supporters. Even a simple comparison of the preparation of the acts which gave perestroyka its radical nature before and after the July strikes shows this quite clearly: The amending of the law on enterprises, the changes to the draft plan and budget, the draft law on leasing, and publication of the new reform strategy, and so forth. The miners' campaign for the real fulfillment of the summer accords demonstrated in subsequent months the same ability to overcome bureaucratic resistance and sluggishness. The habit of entangling everything in red tape and using good intentions as a substitute for action will not wash with organized workers. This was realized when Vorkuta spoke out, and the creaky apparatus machine was again set in motion.

We should also note the following important detail: The strength of the workers movement is by no means necessarily seen in the shape of strikes. And not even mainly in strikes. Strikes are an extreme approach with obviously negative aspects which destabilize society. The presentation of the workers' actual demands, backed up by the threat of a strike and moral support from strikers in other collectives, is often even more effective. Judging by international experience, the more often the workers movement reveals its strength in the struggle for reform, the quicker its opponents will compromise and the rarer will be the need to resort to real strikes. The fact that the independent workers movement is typified by an exceptional capacity for organization means that its strength should be seen above all in peaceful, organized forms, without destroying basic social links, without damaging the country's economy, and without violating law and order. It is common knowledge that even in the most acute periods of the development of the miners movement there was no hint of unrest, chaos, or anarchy in it. It has always striven to support—and has supported—public order, and wherever possible has acted with rather than against the authorities.

In the democratic workers organization understanding of social interests is clearer and deeper than in certain statements by individuals, which are sometimes ill-considered. But it is curious that there was nothing of the kind in collective documents. On the contrary, according to our personal observations, there was a prevailing desire among workers' leaders to reach a compromise and arrive at a mutual understanding with management organs.

Of course, when contemplating the rebirth of the workers movement in our country we ought to avoid euphoric exaggeration and not forget that it can be a source not only of positive processes but of negative, destructive processes as well. Moreover, the development of events in recent months has already led to certain costs—in the economic sphere above all. Yet economic damage is not the most serious danger posed by the workers movement.

First, the growth in the workers movement need not necessarily be accompanied by a massive spread of strikes. Particularly if the political authorities seek not confrontation but compromise with the workers, and do not oppose any demand but strive to move reform forward together with independent workers' organizations.

Second, the negative economic consequences of the strikes held thus far are still not comparable with the economic disasters produced by "systematic" mismanagement and sluggish reform. But it is against such mismanagement that the democratic workers movement is ultimately aimed. As has already been mentioned, strikes are by no means the only, nor even the main, form of the movement.

We must also take into account the fact that the independent workers movement forms a most important element of civilized labor relations in market-type economies. For this reason it is no less necessary within the framework of democratic socialism than it is under capitalism. In modern societies—when the main socio-economic proportions emerge as a result of an open and democratic expression of interests and open clashes, disputes, and cooperation among forces representing different social spheres and institutions—the workers movement serves progress, helps to overcome departmental and other group ambitions, and deprives its opponents of their monopoly on the truth. Marx and Engels linked the liberation of the working class with the liberation of the "entire human race." But in order for the workers movement to fulfill its role we need to create conditions which promote its real independence and stimulate its democratization and civilized nature.

The main danger posed by the organized independent workers movement lies elsewhere. This is that its strength could be turned against the democratization of society and the renewal of the Soviet economy, and that it could become a brake on perestroyka. An all the more terrible brake because the workers movement could then easily ally itself with conservative forces. The activity of certain organizations in the United Front of Working People [UFWP] and the support they receive from certain trade union and party leaders demonstrates the reality of this danger. Of course, most UFWP figures are guided by a fair desire to provide workers with worthy

living conditions and protect them from administrative tyranny, but they look for ways of resolving this task not in historically farsighted and democratic forms of societal and production organization but more often in forms which were concocted in the recent (and distant) past and are quite discredited. That is why to all intents and purposes they reject the main ideas of perestroyka. Thus, the resolution of the UFWP constituent congress held last autumn states: "The concept of radical economic reform does not stand the test of practice," "the current reform... has turned stagnation into crisis," and "maintaining the current course of deepening market relations would lead the country to economic and social collapse."

For the time being the conservative strand of our workers movement is weaker than the branch objectively advocating the continuation of reform. But the danger exists, and it is quite serious. It is rooted in the very powerful influence of the values of leveling among the working people's masses, in the spread of parasitical sentiments, and in many people's trusting attitude toward the schematic ideas of modern society which were presented as genuinely Marxist ideas for many years. It is a fact that "stagnation" sentiments are still strong among the masses, and this fact must be taken into account.

It is important to remember that both the democratic and conservative trends in the workers movement are not developing in isolation. They collaborate with other social forces. The groups and organizations with which the independent workers movement aligns itself will largely determine its future fate and, to a certain extent, the fate of perestroyka itself. It must be admitted that hitherto representatives of anti-perestroyka groups among the intelligentsia have operated more actively in the workers movement than has the democratic public. The country's future largely depends on whether or not this situation changes. On whether society's democratic circles and democratic elements of power realize that discussions among the intelligentsia and the apparatus—for all their importance—are today of secondary importance compared with the progress of the workers movement and the movement of the whole people.

Thus, the role of the independent workers movement is defined both as the relationship between different forms of working class struggle and the thrust of the development of workers' organizations, and as the policy adopted by the vanguard of perestroyka with regard to the workers movement. Of course, an unrestricted wave of wildcat strikes and an irresponsible escalation of unrealistic demands could turn perestroyka into uncontrollable chaos. But a total winding up of the free workers movement and a complete rejection of independent demands (of which strikes could be an extreme aspect) do not hold out the prospect of anything better. In this case transformations will wither and fade in the mire of resistance from conservative forces.

Perestroyka needs a democratic and independent workers movement that is resolute in its actions but able to weigh their positive and negative results—a movement that is at one and the same time radical and responsible, and prepared for sensible compromise.

Kazakh Supreme Soviet To Meet 22 February

LD2201200190 Alma-Ata Domestic Service in Kazakh 1500 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] On convening the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet, the Presidium of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet decrees:

The Presidium of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet has resolved to convene the 16th session of the Supreme Soviet of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic of the 11th convocation on 22 February 1990, in the city of Alma-Ata.

The Presidium of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet reports that the draft law of the Kazakah SSR on leasing is to be put forward for the review of the 16th session of the Republican Supreme Soviet.

Comparison of Shevardnadze, Church Meeting

PM1901164390

[Editorial Report] The following comparison pertains to the item entitled "Shevardnadze Receives Orthodox Church Leaders" published on pages 121-122 of the 18 January DAILY REPORT. Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 19 January Second Edition on page 5 under its "Official Announcements" heading carries the meeting between USSR Foreign Minister Eduard A. Shevardnadze and Orthodox churchmen on 17 January at the USSR Foreign Ministry. Comparison of the PRAVDA item with the TASS English version minus the dateline reveals the following variations:

page 121, column two, last paragraph, only sentence PRAVDA reads ...Eduard Shevardnadze had 17 January at the USSR Foreign Ministry a conversation with... (retranslating and adding words);

page 122, column one, from first paragrah, last sentence PRAVDA reads ...in the conversation.

At the beginning of the conversation Shevardnadze said that... (adding words);

page 122, column one, from second paragraph, last sentence PRAVDA reads ...and the church.

The members of the Holy Synod shared their views about the increase... (deleting two paragraphs and retranslating);

page 122, column one, paragraph six, first sentence PRAVDA reads ...Orthodox Church about further steps towards the... (adding "further").

Economic

Impact of Estonian Price Rises Discussed

PM1601152390 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 Jan 90 First Edition p 6

[Article by special correspondent Captain 3d Class A. Orlov: "Estonia: Will There Be A 'Miracle'?"]

[Text] IME... That is the Estonian abbreviation for the economic reform program which envisages the republic's economic independence and the transition to regional economic accountability. In Estonian, IME can mean "miracle".... On 1 January the republic began directly implementing this program, on which great hopes are pinned. Our interest is perfectly understandable: How are things in Estonia? After all, the Estonians, like the Latvians and the Lithuanians, were experimenters in their own way and their experience is extremely important for us all. So what were the first days of Estonia's economic independence like? What difficulties and problems are emerging? What effect are the innovations having on ordinary people's lives?

For my trip to the Estonian capital after New Year I decided to stay at the Olimpiya hotel. It was a good thing that I had booked a room from Moscow.

"Are you going to pay for your whole stay?" the administrator asked me, smiling pleasantly. "That will be R125..."

Had I heard right? But the administrator repeated the figure and I clearly wasn't the first one to whom she had explained:

"As of 1 January Estonia has been working on economic accountability."

I must admit than when I looked at the evening outside I didn't much want to spend the night on the street. So I agreed that for the time being I would stay 1 night. The personal computer bleeped and issued a card showing the price for a night—R25.

It was only in my room, which apart from the telephone was no different from other hotel rooms that I had seen many times before, incidentally, that the full tragicomedy of the situation struck me: Who, which financial organ will settle this "bourgeois" account for me? No, I had to look for something a little more "worker-peasant" straight away.

My thanks go to the workers of the republic's military commissariat who, though not without difficulty, helped to fix me up in a departmental hotel, where prices hadn't yet rocketed to the general republic level. Colonel N. Redko, chief of the commissariat's political department, knew what was going on: Because of the new economic policy prices in the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] had begun fluctuating, and not just for hotels. Since 1 January prices had risen for certain agricultural goods, with potato prices rising by over 400 percent.

Such was the discovery that Estonia made this year, a year which, it was presumed, was going to be difficult but one on which the republic pins great hopes....

Our visit takes us through Tallinn during this difficult period for the republic. There are different names for it—a transitional period, an interim period, a period of national revival, a period of crisis. And the contradictory processes taking place here have led to the appearance of price lists which still take some getting used to. Let us take a few "minor" items. At the flower kiosk, pinks are twice as expensive as in the cooperatives in Moscow, a modest meal in a snack bar costs at least R2, a ticket for a daytime movie show costs R2 while the evening show is R3. Cigarettes have risen 50 percent and alcohol 20 percent, although in a commercial store it has risen by over 100 percent. But that's another matter. At one bakery it turned out that with a change of name a "Tallin" loaf now costs 30 kopeks. ... That happened last year....

Newspapers have gone up, too. Just two or three publications (party and soviet ones) have remained at the old price, whereas the rest cost between 30 kopeks and R1—and people are already used to it.

Let us stay on a shopping street in the Old Town. There is a waiting line. No, it isn't for produce or scarce goods. It is the "Sprint" lottery. Let us stay awhile, perhaps talk to people—maybe fortune will smile on someone?

"No, I didn't win," a middle-aged man said, crumpling his lottery ticket in his hand. He looks like a father on his way to do the shopping. And so it turned out. S. Galkin is a docker at the commercial maritime port. How does he feel about the price fluctuations? He isn't bothered about them with regard to alcohol and tobacco. Most important is food, but the working class won't let that happen, there'll be strikes if necessary...

L. Lugis, a teacher:

"Prices at the moment aren't the important thing, perhaps. The universal shortage is a different matter. I think that with a shortage like this the free market will just be a legalized black market..."

N. Leshchinskaya, a pensioner:

"My pension is good, to be honest. But I, too, am afraid of price rises. They seem to increase in secret and unannounced."

All of these people, unfortunately, proved to be holding losing "Sprint" lottery tickets. Well, obviously, they can't all be lucky.

However, the final person I spoke to was right: There have long been rumors circulating in the republic about the rise in prices but there had been no official statement on this "unpopular" measure. The interview with R. Aarin, general director of the "Estplodovoshch" association, published in SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA

recently, did not clarify the situation in terms of agricultural produce, for example. Aarin reported that as of 1 January republic subsidies on output from fruit and vegetable centers had been removed and that therefore retail prices had been urgently revised.

In an announcement on 6 January the Estonian SSR Government said that it had discussed the question of the sale of potatoes and other vegetables in the trade network at increased prices and noted that this was due to the incorrect interpretation of the Law on the State Budget ratified by the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet. It has now been announced that the new prices will no longer be applied.

Well, perhaps someone will say that the correspondent only looked at the black side of things, he only saw the price rises... But this is only the outward appearance of the phenomenon. After all, since the New Year the mechanisms of deep and complex processes have been set in motion which, in theory, are to lead to economic recovery. That is understandable, clearly. As is the fact that it is obviously too soon to analyze those processes now. Of course, the advent of economic independence and the transfer to economic accountability in the republic offers scope for the development of production forces and enterprise. The important thing is that there should be consistency in the reforms and, of course, common sense. In particular, I think that IME's success will largely depend on how the transfer to economic independence is combined with a solicitous attitude to the economic ties that have been formed with other regions of the country.

Many people in Estonia realize that the republic's normal development is only possible within the USSR. But you often hear different views expressed.

USSR People's Deputy T. Made, for example, is quite frank on this: "We cannot shut the door that easily. Let us therefore bear in mind that 1 January marked the beginning of a transitional period during which Estonia should pave the way for leaving the USSR...."

"The people do not believe in IME," he stated, "but the Estonian people will nonetheless struggle for their independence even if life deteriorates even further."

That is how some people form policy.

I do not think that ordinary people want the present changes for their own sake but see them first and foremost as their best hope for a real improvement in life.

In the new economic conditions the question of who is defending the social and economic rights of the republic's inhabitants now and in what way acquires a new significance. What is the stance of the republic's trade unions here?

"You understand," K. Khok, the editor of NARODNAYA GAZETA, told me somewhat embarrassedly, "this is, as it were, a period of stagnation and lack of authority in our trade unions now...."

The republic's trade unions are now indeed experiencing difficult times. At the 20th congress held at the end of December 1989 a decision was adopted on the disbandment of Estonia's trade unions. The documents of the new, independent trade union are now being worked out. The formation of this new structure, of course, is accompanied by a struggle of philosophies, a struggle of characters, sometimes even of personal pride. It would seem therefore that at the moment there is no time for the specific protection of working people's rights. In the main it is the government which is tackling social protection questions.

On Monday 8 January the Estonian SSR Government returned to the question of prices for certain types of agricultural produce. It was decided that for the time being the state retail prices used in 1989 will continue to operate. The raising of prices in the future should have a mechanism to protect consumers' interests. Possibly this will be accompanied by subsidies to the population matched to the rise in prices. Thus it is hoped that it will be possible to prevent a fall in the republic's living standard, which until recently, by the way, was among the highest in the country.

So does that mean that the subsidy previously given to collective and state farms for milk and meat, for instance, whose prices will perhaps also rise, will now be paid to the population? At first glance this is an acceptable solution, if it happens that way. There is a "but" here, however. After all, this only concerns produce. It is unclear what will happen in the future to industrial goods. Nor is it absolutely clear how prices will be agreed with suppliers from other union republics. Furthermore, a subsidy, by all accounts, may be given only to workers at republic enterprises. That, in any event, is how many people want to put the question. For understandable reasons they "like" the idea of excluding workers and employees at union enterprises. The question of whether the subsidy will be extended to soldiers serving on Estonian territory and to workers and employees of the Soviet Army and Navy hasn't been clarified. It is being clearly stated now that the Army and military enterprises have their own "bosses" (just like the all-union enterprises)....

However, the difference in the real incomes of that category of the population is perceptible right now.

Here is a letter from the chairmen of the trade union organizations of the five rayon military commissariats in Tallinn to the republic's military commissariat: "In connection with the new economic policy in the Estonian SSR for 1990 and subsequent years, (the raising of prices for foodstuffs and industrial goods), we, employees of the Soviet Army's military commissariats in Tallinn city, ask for the question of raising our pay to be examined. Under the Estonian SSR laws, Estonian SSR citizens who benefit the republic by their labor

receive a salary supplement to adjust the subsistence minimum. According to the opinion prevailing in the republic, we Soviet Army employees do not belong to that category of people and so there can be no question of a subsidy for our salaries. We are affected by all the innovations in the republic which reflect on the family budget. On the collectives' behalf we ask you to examine this request."

The question is surely a legitimate one. People do not want to leave their jobs to seek a better life. Nevertheless, this process has already begun at a number of all-union enterprises. An exodus of manpower and engineering and technical staff to republic enterprises can be seen there. What processes will occur next and how will depend not only on the local authorities but also—workers believe—on the stance of the federation's central organs....

So what do people expect to happen in this new year? That is a question which worries working people in Estonia today whatever their nationality. You hear it on the radio and television and read it in the newspapers. The replies vary—from the optimists, who view IME as a path to prosperity, to the pessimists, who say "we'll all have to tighten our belts."

Time will tell. Is it only in the "Sprint" lottery that you get instant success?

Agricultural

December 'Mini-Spring' Weather Reported

904B0109A Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 1 Jan 90 p 4

[Article by A. Shuvalov: "Thaws, Thaws..."]

[Text] In spite of all predictions, the weather in December again showed that it can do whatever it wants without regard for the calendar. The month began quite favorably... . There was plenty of snow and the temperature moved steadily toward the 30-degree mark, that unique indicator of "severity" of the winter, when suddenly (that painfully familiar synoptic "suddenly") everything changed completely. A kind of mini-spring came in the second half of December.

There is hardly any point in describing in detail how unusual and strong the thaws were; we could feel that quite well for ourselves. But I cannot but give a couple of unique facts. In the first place it is unthinkable in just a few days to jump from minus 25 to puddles and rain in Moscow. Perhaps for Vorkuta or Norilsk such a jump in temperature is possible, but it sent Muscovites into shock because the sidewalks and streets became something between a skating rink and a swimming pool. Well, a couple of days later the record heat dropped as well. Incidentally, this year the climate guides will have to be changed not only in the capital but also in Kiev, Kishinev, Minsk, and Riga. Thus one December morning Kievans discovered with unconcealed amazement that their thermometers were showing no more and no less than 10-12 degrees above zero!

But now we are coming to the most curious thing. The fact is that the December thaw was an effective finale not only for 1989 but also for the entire decade. And here one cannot but mention what seems to be a trifle at first glance: According to data from Moscow weather stations, the eighties were the warmest years during the entire 100 years of record keeping. Moreover, in 1989 the highest average annual temperature was registered in the capital. But let us wait with broad generalizations.

There is every reason to assume that in January there will be no extraordinary cold spells over almost all of the country; thaws are likely to become more frequent again. This is related to the position of the circumpolar jet stream, that unique "skull cap" that is pulled down over the polar regions of the northern hemisphere. This is the area of greatest cold. So now this "cap" is placed somewhat crookedly on the globe and its center has been shifted toward Canada. And reports about severe (by American standards, of course) freezes in the United States is only confirmation of this.

Early January Weather Conditions Noted

904B0109B Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 14 Jan 90 p 1

[Article by agrometeorologist A. Grishina: "Weather and Plantings"]

[Text] The weather was very unstable over a large part of the European territory of the USSR during the first 10 days of January. At the beginning and the end, it became significantly warmer: In the south of the Crimea and Krasnodar and Stavropol Krays the temperature even rose to six to seven degrees above zero. In the middle 10-day period in the majority of regions it suddenly dropped to 16-23 degrees below zero, and in the northeast of the Central, the Volga, and a large part of the Volga-Vyatka and Ural regions it even dropped to 25-35 degrees. But these drops in temperature presented no special danger to the winter grain crops since the snow cover on the fields was 30-35 cm deep as of 10 January and the minimum temperature at the depth of the tillering node did not drop below three to five degrees below zero.

Southwest of the line of Leningrad-Kalinin-Cheboksary-Ulyanovsk-Uralsk where the snow cover on the fields was less or did not exceed one to three cm, the conditions for the wintering of the planted areas deteriorated. The minimum soil temperature at the depth of the tillering node was mainly from minus eight to minus 10 degrees. In certain regions of Tataria, Mordovia, and the south of Gorkiy Oblast and near Astrakhan at the depth of the tillering node it dropped to minus 15-18 degrees which is dangerous for winter wheat.

In Estonia and Latvia and and certain rayons of Leningrad, Pskov, and Novgorod Oblasts, an ice crust has been

ground into the soil, and the snow cover is less than five cm. The ice crust is 12-18 mm thick and in places up to 25-30. It has also remained in Moscow and Ryazan Oblasts and in the north of the Volga region but here is is under the snow cover which is more than 10 cm deep. This crust is less dangerous to the plantings.

The soil in the majority of regions of the middle belt has frozen to a depth of 20-50 cm. In the Transcaucasian republics it has gotten much colder since the middle 10-day period.

In the majority of farming regions of Siberia the weather has been warmer than usual for this time of year. The average 10-day air temperature was two to seven degrees and in places 10 degrees higher than the past multi-year average. Only in Tyumen and Omsk Oblasts was it two to five degrees lower. Winter crops were under a snow cover 20 to 40 cm deep.

In Kazakhstan at the beginning of the year, warmer weather than usual prevailed and then it became much colder. The low air temperature in the northern half of the republic dropped to 30-40 degrees below zero.

In the republics of Central Asia during the second half of the 10-day period it also became much colder. There was precipitation almost everywhere. The air temperature dropped to 11-20 degrees below zero, in the northern part of the region—to 21-24 degrees, and in the extreme north—to three to nine degrees.

The wintering of the grain crops and grasses is proceeding quite favorably everywhere.

Scientific

'Molniya-3' Communications Satellite Launched

LD2301161190 Moscow TASS in English 1605 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 23 TASS—Using a Molniya booster rocket, the Soviet Union today launched a communications satellite, Molniya-3, to ensure the operation of the remote telephone and telegraph radio communications, transmit Soviet Central Television programmes to Orbita network receives, and promote international cooperation.

The satellite has been placed in the orbit with the following parameters:

—Apogee in the northern hemisphere—38,892 kilometers,
—Perigee in the southern hemisphere—642 km,
—Period of revolution—11 hours 41 minutes,
—Inclination of the orbit—63 degrees.

Communications sessions via Molniya-3 will be conducted in keeping with the flight programme.

Kazakh Radiation Monitoring Stations Set Up

LD2301140290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Radiation monitoring stations have been set up in the rayons adjacent to Semipalatinsk nuclear testing ground. Their assembly was completed today by specialists of the Institute of Nuclear Physics of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic Academy of Sciences. Up-to-the-minute data will reach the institute once every 48 hours from all the stations; the information will be processed and summarized, after which it will be available to all state and public organizations.

Rumors of Cracks in Chernobyl AES Denied

904E0047A Moscow TRUD in Russian 18 Jan 90 p 2

[Interview with Yu. Tsoglin, nuclear power plant safety section director of Nuclear Research Institute of USSR Academy of Sciences and science chief of the "Shater" Monitoring and Diagnostics System of Unit 4 of Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant, by D. Kiyanskiy in Kiev: "Are There Cracks in the 'Sarcophagus'?—Some Answers to Alarming Questions Related to Present Condition of the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant"; date not given—first two paragraphs are TRUD introduction]

[Text] "Again we have trouble in Unit 4, they say." "I heard something has come crashing down inside the 'shelter'." "One comrade in a responsible position stated that filters were destroyed in the 'sarcophagus' by strong gas exhaust"...

Rumors are circulating around the housing areas, one more incredible than the other. What is actually happening in this unit of the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant? This is discussed by Yu. Tsoglin, nuclear power plant safety section director of the Nuclear Research Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences and science chief of the "Shater" Monitoring and Diagnostics System of Unit 4 of the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant.

[Tsoglin] There has been nothing of the kind. However, I do not condemn those people who trustingly accept such "facts." Their alarm is entirely understandable—the accident at Chernobyl has brought too much grief. There is one way to handle it—regularly provide the population with precise and objective information. We need complete glasnost here.

[Kiyanskiy] But perhaps you simply have not yet received the news of some emergency occurrence?

[Tsoglin] If something were to happen, we in Kiev would know about it in less than a minute. I have the same "picture" on the display screen in my office at the Nuclear Research Institute as that which appears on the operator's screen at the Unit 4 terminal. A data link between the "Shater" system model located in the institute and the analogous system in Unit 4 enables any deviation to become immediately apparent to us. All the

information obtained from 150 sensors located inside the "sarcophagus" is analyzed by computer. The institute has a computer with the same program, and operators are on duty at the "site" 24 hours a day.

[Kiyanskiy] How frequently do they change the aerosol filters in the ventilation system of the "shelter"?

[Tsoglin] When a sensor indicates that the filter has accumulated a certain quantity of radioactive aerosols, it is extracted, put in a special container, and sent to a solid-waste depository. However, the gaseous discharge activity of the "shelter" facility is not great. Samples gathered daily show that the level of these emissions is far below the tolerance level. It is another matter if the danger of construction elements collapsing arises. Experts servicing the destroyed unit regularly inspect all premises accessible to radiation and certify them.

[Kiyanskiy] Why are instances of internal collapse so dangerous? Could the destruction of some construction elements threaten the integrity of the "sarcophagus" itself?

[Tsoglin] No, of course not. The problem is elsewhere—a portion of a collapsing wall or, let us say, an overhead beam that crashes down raises radioactive dust which—if there is a lot of it—can escape outside through the tiniest natural cracks or thin sections in the "shelter."

This finely dispersed dust contains plutonium, strontium, cesium, and other radionuclides, and that is why the defective and questionable construction inside the facility has been reinforced. It was done by a comprehensive field team of the Nuclear Energy Institute Imeni I.V. Kurchatov.

Dozens of holes were bored in order to study the well of the reactor, the condition and location of fuel. On the basis of all-encompassing analysis of the extensive information, experts on the comprehensive field team and the team's science chief, academician S.T. Belyayev, concluded it was impossible for a chain reaction to occur. They guarantee that the facility is safe from a nuclear point of view.

[Kiyanskiy] The "pyramid" erected over the destroyed unit cannot compete longevity-wise with the famous burial vaults of the pharaohs. What does the future show for the "shelter" and what it contains?

[Tsoglin] The important thing now is to strengthen the two-ton inverted roof of the reactor plate, about 14 meters in diameter, which is in unstable condition. Design and construction organizations of the USSR Ministry of Industrial Nuclear Energy are working on this. With regard to the fate of the "sarcophagus," scientists have proposed that it be transformed into a long-term edifice, made ecologically safe. Designs are already being drawn up and the strictest deadlines have been established. The technical-economic substantiation is scheduled for completion this year, and the working design is to be completed in 1992. The future "Shelter-2" facility, according to its creators' concept, must be sufficiently solid and hermetically sealed so that any collapse of the destroyed unit is not reflected in the condition of its walls or roof and does not cause any change in the radiation environment of the site. An alternative proposal is also under development—the so-called "green grass" variant, which entails a complete dismantling of the facility and removal of nuclear fuel waste.

[Kiyanskiy] Which of the two variants will require less effort and money?

[Tsoglin] An answer to this question must be based on the technical-economic substantiation many organizations are busy developing. The Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Academy of Sciences has taken a great volume of work upon itself, in particular the institutes of nuclear research, geochemistry and physics of minerals, geophysics, botany, and cybernetics. The USSR State Committee for Construction has concluded that today's "shelter" will be able to fulfill its functions for at least another 30 years. And so we do have some time. I think we will succeed in completing the selected variant prior to the turn of the century.

[Kiyanskiy] It is said the "sarcophagus" is becoming more radioactive with time, and will therefore present an ever increasing danger to the environment.

[Tsoglin] That is not so. There are no nuclear reactions taking place in the "shelter" which would cause it to become radioactive. Moreover, according to the laws of radioactive decay, the level of contamination—and consequently the intensity of emissions—decreases with time.